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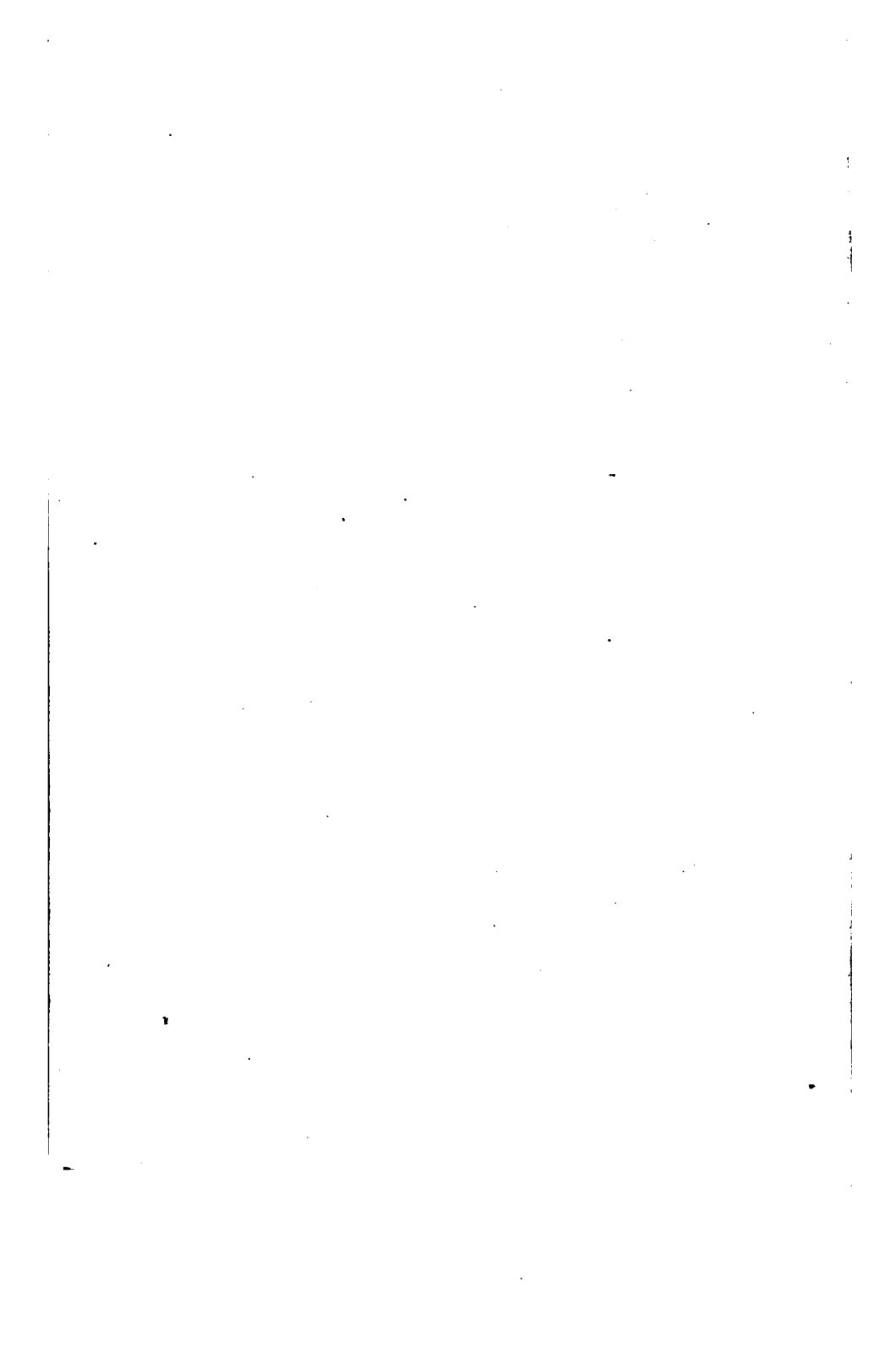
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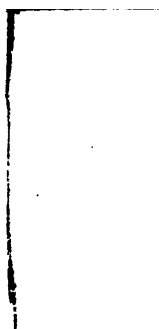
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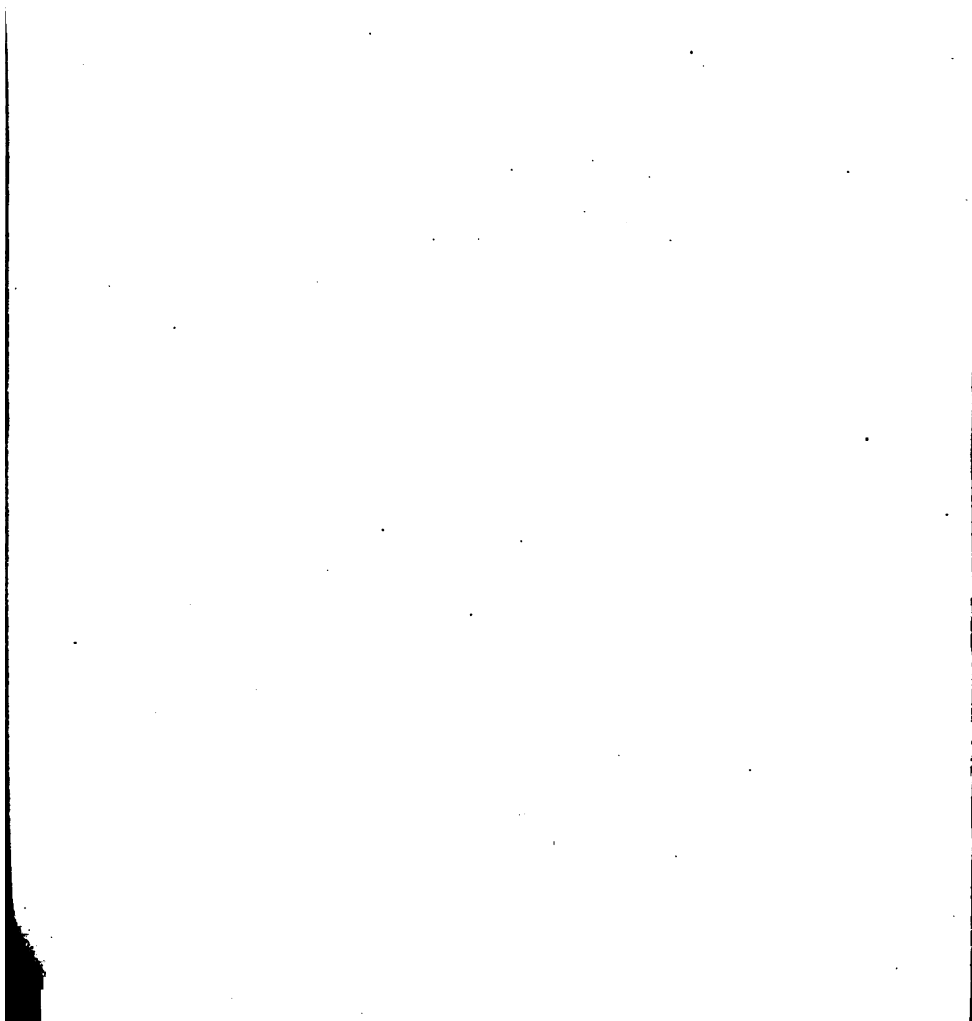
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FRIENDS IN COUNCIL:

A SERIES OF READINGS,

AND DISCOURSE THEREON.

John Arthur Cooper

"It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and intermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons, Asking of Questions, with Telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade, any thing too far."—BACON. *Essay of Discourse*.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
VISCOUNT MORPETH, M.P.

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,
WITH THE AFFECTIONATE RESPECT OF
THE AUTHOR.



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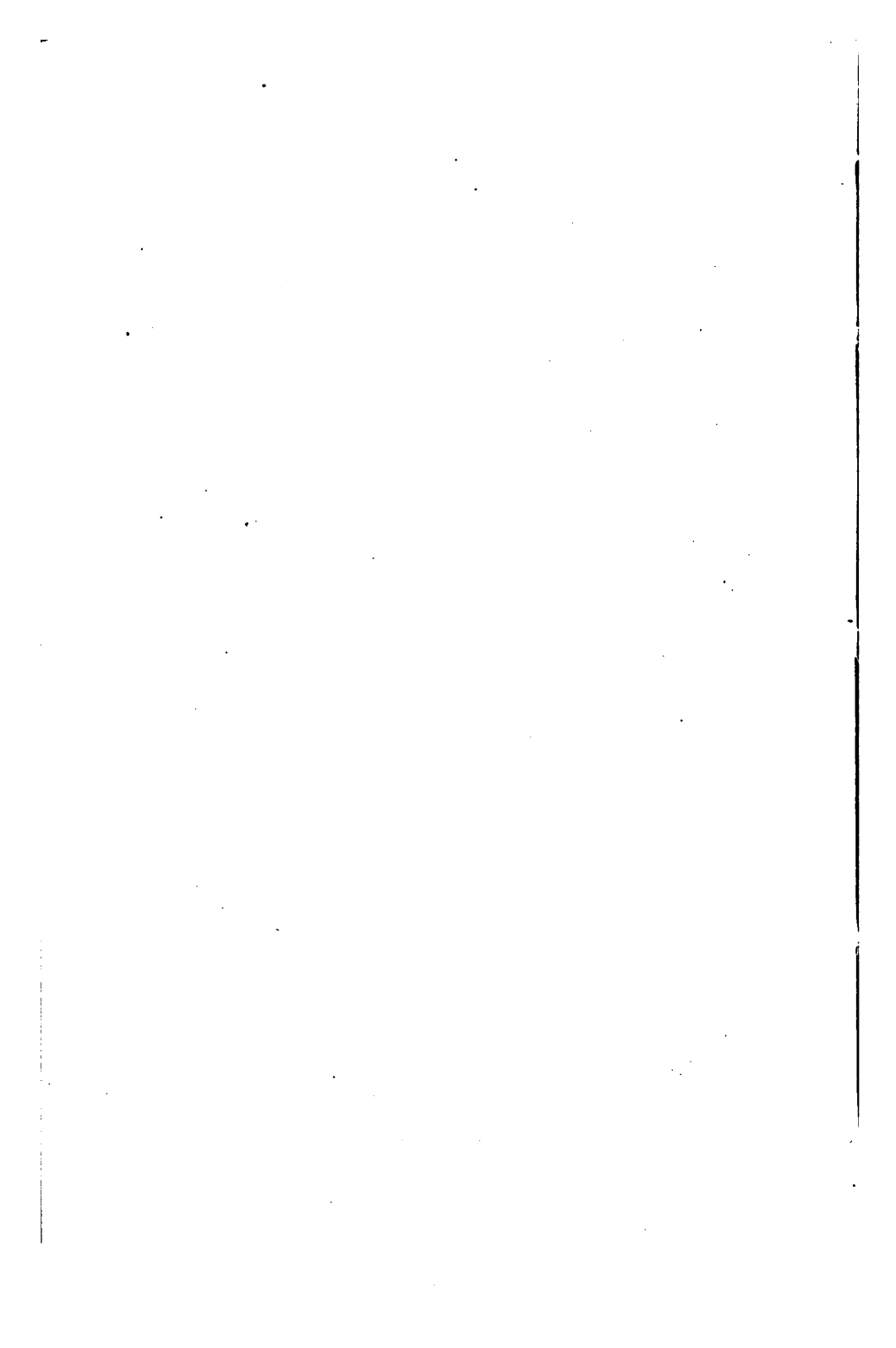
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FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

BOOK I





CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

NONE but those who, like myself, have once lived in intellectual society, and have then been deprived of it for years, can appreciate the delight of finding it again. Not that I have any right to complain, if I were fated to live as a recluse forever. I can add little, or nothing, to the pleasure of any company; I like to listen rather than to talk; and when any thing apposite does occur to me, it is generally the day after the conversation has taken place. I do not, however, love good talk the less for these defects of mine; and I console myself with thinking that I sustain the part of a judicious listener, not always an easy one.

Great then was my delight at hearing last year, that my old pupil, Milverton, had taken a house which had long been vacant in our neighborhood. To add to my pleasure, his college friend, Ellesmere, the great lawyer, also an old pupil of mine, came to us frequently in the course of the autumn. Milverton was at that

time writing some essays, which he occasionally read to Ellesmere and myself. The conversations which then took place I am proud to say that I have chronicled. I think they must be interesting to the world in general, though of course not so much so as to me.

Milverton and Ellesmere were my favorite pupils. Many is the heart-ache I have had at finding that those boys, with all their abilities, would do nothing at the University. But it was in vain to urge them. I grieve to say that neither of them had any ambition of the right kind. Once I thought I had stimulated Ellesmere to the proper care and exertion: when, to my astonishment and vexation, going into his rooms about a month before an examination, I found that, instead of getting up his subjects, like a reasonable man, he was absolutely endeavoring to invent some new method for proving something which had been proved before in a hundred ways. Over this he had wasted two days, and from that moment I saw it was useless to waste any more of my time and patience in urging a scholar so indocile for the beaten path.

What tricks he and Milverton used to play me, pretending not to understand my demonstration of some mathematical problem, inventing all manner of subtle difficulties, and declaring they could not go on while these stumbling-blocks lay in their way! But I am getting into

college gossip, which may in no way delight my readers. And I am fancying, too, that Milverton and Ellesmere are the boys they were to me: but I am now the child to them. During the years that I have been quietly living here, they have become versed in the ways of the busy world. And though they never think of asserting their superiority, I feel it, and am glad to do so.

My readers would, perhaps, like me to tell them something of the characters of Ellesmere and Milverton; but it would ill become me to give that insight into them which I, their college friend and tutor, imagine I have obtained. Their friendship I could never understand. It was not on the surface very warm, and their congeniality seemed to result more from one or two large common principles of thought than from any peculiar similarity of taste, or from great affection on either side. Yet I should wrong their friendship if I were to represent it otherwise than a most true-hearted one; more so, perhaps, than some of softer texture. What needs be seen of them individually will be by their words, which I hope I have in the main retained.

The place where we generally met in fine weather was on the lawn before Milverton's house. It was an eminence which commanded a series of valleys sloping towards the sea.

And, as the sea was not more than nine miles off, it was a matter of frequent speculation with us whether the landscape was bounded by air or water. In the first valley was a little town of red brick houses, with poplars coming up amongst them. The ruins of a castle, and some water which, in olden times, had been the lake in "the pleasaunce," were between us and the town. The clang of an anvil, or the clamor of a horn, or busy wheelwright's sounds came faintly up to us when the wind was south.

I must not delay my readers longer with my gossip, but bring them at once into the conversation that preceded our first reading.

MILVERTON. I tell you, Ellesmere, these are the only heights I care to look down from, the heights of natural scenery.

ELLESMERE. Pooh! my dear Milverton, it is only because the particular mounds which the world calls heights, you think you have found out to be but larger ant-heaps. Whenever you have cared about any thing, a man more fierce and unphilosophical in the pursuit of it I never saw. To influence men's minds by writing for them, is that no ambition?

MILVERTON. It may be, but I have it not. Let any kind critic convince me that what I am now doing is useless, or has been done before, or that, if I leave it undone, some one else will do it to my mind; and I should fold up my papers, and watch the turnips grow in that field there, with a placidity that would, per-

haps, seem very spiritless to your now restless and ambitious nature, Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. If something were to happen which will not, then—oh Philosophy, Philosophy, you, too, are a good old nurse, and rattle your rattles for your little people, as well as old Dame World can do for hers. But what are we to have to-day for our first reading?

MILVERTON. An Essay on Truth.

ELLESMERE. Well, had I known this before, it is not the novelty of the subject which would have dragged me up the hill to your house. By the way, philosophers ought not to live upon hills. They are much more accessible, and I think quite as reasonable, when, Diogenes-like, they live in tubs upon flat-ground. Now for the essay.

TRUTH.

TRUTH is a subject which men will not suffer to grow old. Each age has to fight with its own falsehoods: each man with his love of saying to himself and those around him pleasant things and things serviceable for to-day, rather than the things which are. Yet a child appreciates at once the divine necessity for truth; never asks, "What harm is there in saying the thing that is not?" and an old man finds in his growing experience wider and wider applications of the great doctrine and discipline of truth.

Truth needs the wisdom of the serpent as well as the simplicity of the dove. He has gone but a little way in his matter who supposes that it is an easy thing for a man to speak the truth, — “the thing he troweth;” and that it is a casual function which may be fulfilled at once after any lapse of exercise. But, in the first place, the man who would speak truth, must know what he troweth. To do that, he must have an uncorrupted judgment. By this is not meant a perfect judgment or even a wise one, but one which, however it may be biassed, is not bought—is still a judgment. But some people’s judgments are so entirely gained over by vanity, selfishness, passion, or inflated prejudices and fancies long indulged in; or they have the habit of looking at every thing so carelessly, that they see nothing truly. They cannot interpret the world of reality. And this is the saddest form of lying, “the lie that sinketh in,” as Bacon says, which becomes part of the character and goes on eating the rest away.

Again, to speak truth, a man must not only have that martial courage which goes out, with sound of drum and trumpet, to do and suffer great things; but that domestic courage which compels him to utter small-sounding truths in spite of present inconvenience and outraged sensitiveness or sensibility. Then he must not be in any respect a slave to self-interest. Often it

seems as if but a little misrepresentation would gain a great good for us; or, perhaps, we have only to conceal some trifling thing, which, if told, might hinder unreasonably, as we think, a profitable bargain. The true man takes care to tell, notwithstanding. When we think that truth interferes at one time or another with all a man's likings, hatings, and wishes, we must admit, I think, that it is the most comprehensive and varied form of self-denial.

Then, in addition to these great qualities, truth-telling in its highest sense requires a well-balanced mind. For instance, much exaggeration, perhaps the most, is occasioned by an impatient and easily moved temperament, which longs to convey its own vivid impressions to other minds, and seeks by amplifying to gain the full measure of their sympathy. But a true man does not think what his hearers are feeling, but what he is saying.

More stress might be laid, than has been, on the intellectual requisites for truth, which are probably the best part of intellectual cultivation; and as much caused by truth as causing it.* But, putting the requisites for truth at the fewest, see of how large a portion of the character truth is the resultant. If you were to make a list of those persons accounted the religious men of their

* See *Statesman*, p. 80.

respective ages, you would have a ludicrous combination of characters essentially dissimilar. But true people are kindred. Mention the eminently true men, and you will find that they are a brotherhood. There is a family likeness throughout them.

If we consider the occasions of exercising truthfulness and descend to particulars, we may divide the matter into the following heads—truth to one's self—truth to mankind in general—truth in social relations—truth in business—truth in pleasure.

1. Truth to one's self. All men have a deep interest that each man should tell himself the truth. Not only will he become a better man, but he will understand them better. If men knew themselves, they could not be intolerant to others.

It is scarcely necessary to say much about the advantage of a man knowing himself for himself. To get at the truth of any history is good: but a man's own history—when he reads that truly, and without a mean and over-solicitous introspection, knows what he is about and what he has been about, it is a bible to him. "And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned before the Lord." David knew the truth about himself. But truth to one's self is not merely truth about one's self. It consists in maintaining an

openness and justness of soul which brings a man into relation with all truth. For this, all the senses, if you might so call them, of the soul must be uninjured; that is, the affections and the perceptions must be just. For a man to speak the truth to himself comprehends all goodness; and for us mortals can only be an aim.

2. Truth to mankind in general. This is a matter which, as I read it, concerns only the higher natures. Suffice it to say, that the withholding large truths from the world may be a betrayal of the greatest trust.

3. Truth in social relations. Under this head come the practices of making speech vary according to the person spoken to; of pretending to agree with the world when you do not; of not acting according to what is your deliberate and well-advised opinion, because some mischief may be made of it by persons whose judgment in the matter you do not respect; of maintaining a wrong course for the sake of consistency; of encouraging the show of intimacy with those whom you never can be intimate with; and many things of the same kind. These practices have elements of charity and prudence as well as fear and meanness in them. Let those parts which correspond to fear and meanness be put aside. Charity and prudence are not parasitical

plants which require poles of falsehood to climb up upon. It is often extremely difficult in the mixed things of this world to act truly and kindly too; but therein lies one of the great trials of man, that his sincerity should have kindness in it, and his kindness truth.

4. Truth in business. The more truth you can get into any business, the better. Let the other side know the defects of yours, let them know how you are to be satisfied, let there be as little to be found out as possible, (I should say nothing,) and if your business be an honest one, it will be best tended in this way. The talking, bargaining, and delaying that would thus be needless, the little that would then have to be done over again, the anxiety that would be put aside, would even in a worldly way be "great gain." It is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the third part of men's lives is wasted by the effect, direct or indirect, of falsehoods.

Still, let us not be swift to imagine that lies are never of any service. A recent prime minister said, that he did not know about truth always prevailing and the like; but lies had been very successful against his government. And this was true enough. Every lie has its day. There is no preternatural inefficacy in it by reason of its falseness. And this is especially the case with those vague injurious reports which are no man's

lies, but all men's carelessness. But even as regards special and unmistakable falsehood, we must admit that it has its success. A complete being might deceive with wonderful effect; however, as nature is always against a liar, it is great odds in the case of ordinary mortals. Wolsey talks of

“Negligence

Fit for a fool to fall by,”

when he gives Henry the wrong packet; but the Cardinal was quite mistaken. That kind of negligence was just the thing of which far-seeing and thoughtful men are capable; and which, if there were no higher motive, should induce them to rely on truth alone. A very close vulpine nature, all eyes, all ears, may succeed better in deceit. But it is a sleepless business. Yet, strange to say, it is had recourse to in the most spendthrift fashion, as the first and easiest thing that comes to hand.

In connection with truth in business, it may be observed that if you are a truthful man, you should be watchful over those whom you employ; for your subordinate agents are often fond of lying for your interests, as they think. Show them at once that you do not think with them, and that you will disconcert any of their inventions by breaking in with the truth. If you suffer the fear of seeming unkind to prevent your thrusting well-meant inventions aside,

you may get as much pledged to falsehoods as if you had coined and uttered them yourself.

5. Truth in pleasure. Men have been said to be sincere in their pleasures; but this is only that the tastes and habits of men are more easily discernible in pleasure than in business. The want of truth is as great a hindrance to the one as to the other. Indeed, there is so much insincerity and formality in the pleasurable department of human life, especially in social pleasures, that instead of a bloom there is a slime upon it, which deadens and corrupts the thing. One of the most comical sights to superior beings must be to see two human creatures with elaborate speech and gestures making each other exquisitely uncomfortable from civility: the one pressing what he is most anxious that the other should not accept, and the other accepting only from the fear of giving offence by refusal. There is an element of charity in all this too; and it will be the business of a just and refined nature to be sincere and considerate at the same time. This will be better done by enlarging our sympathy, so that more things and people are pleasant to us, than by increasing the civil and conventional part of our nature, so that we are able to do more seeming with greater skill and endurance. Of other false hindrances to pleasure, such as ostentation and pretences of

all kinds, there is neither charity nor comfort in them. They may be got rid of altogether, and no moaning made over them. Truth, which is one of the largest creatures, opens out the way to the heights of enjoyment as well as to the depths of self-denial.

It is difficult to think too highly of the merits and delights of truth ; but there is often in men's minds an exaggerated notion of some bit of truth, which proves a great assistance to falsehood. For instance, the shame of some particular small falsehood, exaggeration, or insincerity becomes a bugbear which scares a man into a career of false dealing. He has begun making a furrow a little out of the line, and he ploughs on in it to try and give some consistency and meaning to it. He wants almost to persuade himself that it was not wrong, and entirely to hide the wrongness from others. This is a tribute to the majesty of truth : also to the world's opinion about truth. It proceeds, too, upon the notion that all falsehoods are equal, which is not the case ; or in some fond craving for a show of perfection, which is sometimes very inimical to the reality. The practical as well as the high-minded view in such cases, is for a man to think how he can be true now. To attain that, it may, even for this world, be worth while for a man to admit that he is inconsistent, and even that he has been untrue. His hearers,

did they know any thing of themselves, would be fully aware that he was not singular, except in the courage of owning his insincerity.

ELLESMERE. That last part requires thinking about. If you were to permit men, without great loss of reputation, to own that they had been insincere, you might break down some of that majesty of truth you talk about. And bad men might avail themselves of any facilities of owning insincerity, to commit more of it. I can imagine that the apprehension of this might restrain a man from making any such admission as you allude to, even if he could make up his mind to do it otherwise.

MILVERTON. Yes; but can any thing be worse than a man going on in a false course? Each man must look to his own truthfulness, and keep that up as well as he can, even at the risk of saying, or doing, something which may be turned to ill account by others. We may think too much about this reflection of our external selves. Let the real self be right. I am not so fanciful as to expect men to go about clamoring that they have been false; but at no risk of letting people see that, or of even being obliged to own it, should they persevere in it.

DUNSFORD. Milverton is right, I think.

ELLESMERE. Do not imagine that I am behind either of you in a wish to hold up truth. My only doubt was as to the mode. For my own part, I have such faith in truth, that I take it mere concealment is in most cases a mischief. And I should say, for instance, that a wise man would be sorry that his fellows

should think better of him than he deserves. By the way, that is a reason why I should not like to be a writer of moral essays, Milverton—one should be supposed to be so very good.

MILVERTON. Only by thoughtless people then. There is a saying given to Rousseau, not that he ever did say it, for I believe it was a misprint, but it was a possible saying for him: “chaque homme qui pense est méchant.” Now, without going the length of this aphorism, we may say that what has been well written, has been well suffered.

“He best can paint them who has felt them most.”

And, so, though we should not exactly declare that writers, who have had much moral influence, have been wicked men, yet we may admit that they have been amongst the most struggling, which implies any thing but serene self-possession and perfect spotlessness. If you take the great ones, Luther, Shakspeare, Goethe, you see this at once.

DUNSFORD. David, St. Paul.

MILVERTON. Such men are like great rocks on the sea-shore. By their resistance, terraces of level land are formed; but the rocks themselves bear many scars and ugly indents, while the sea of human difficulty presents the same unwrinkled appearance in all ages. Yet it has been driven back.

ELLESMERE. But has it lost any of its bulk, or only gone elsewhere? One part of the resemblance certainly is, that these same rocks, which were bulwarks, become, in their turn, dangers.

MILVERTON. Yes, there is always loss in that way. It is seldom given to man to do unmixed good. But

it was not this aspect of the simile that I was thinking of: it was the scarred appearance.

DUNSFORD. Scars, not always, of defeat or flight; scars in the front.

MILVERTON. Ah, it hardly does for us to talk of victory, or defeat, in these cases; but we may look at the contest itself as something not bad, terminate how it may. We lament over a man's sorrows, struggles, disasters, and shortcomings; yet they were possessions too. We talk of the origin of evil and the permission of evil. But what is evil? We mostly speak of sufferings and trials as good, perhaps, in their result; but we hardly admit that they may be good in themselves. Yet they are knowledge—how else to be acquired, unless by making men as gods, enabling them to understand without experience. All that men go through may be absolutely the best for them—no such thing as evil, at least in our customary meaning of the word. But, you will say, they might have been created different and higher. See where this leads to. Any sentient being may set up the same claim: a fly that it had not been made a man: and so the end would be, that each would complain of not being all.

ELLESMERE. Say it all over again, my dear Milverton; it is rather hard. [Milverton did so, in nearly the same words.] I think I have heard it all before. But you may have it as you please. I do not say this irreverently, but the truth is, I am too old and too earthy to enter upon these subjects. I think, however, that the view is a stouthearted one. It is somewhat in the same vein of thought that you see in Carlyle's Works about the contempt of happiness. But in all

these cases, one is apt to think of the sage in Rasselas, who is very wise about human misery, till he loses his daughter. Your fly illustration has something in it. Certainly when men talk big about what might have been done for man, they omit to think what might be said, on similar grounds, for each sentient creature in the universe. But here have we been meandering off into origin of evil, and uses of great men, and wickedness of writers, etc., whereas I meant to have said something about the essay. How would you answer what Bacon maintains? "A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure."

MILVERTON. He is not speaking of the lies of social life, but of self-deception. He goes on to class under that head "vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would." These things are the sweetness of "the lie that sinketh in." Many a man has a kind of mental kaleidoscope, where the bits of broken glass are his own merits and fortunes, and they fall into harmonious arrangements and delight him—often most mischievously and to his ultimate detriment, but they are a present pleasure.

ELLESMERE. Well, I am going to be true in my pleasures: to take a long walk alone. I have got a difficult case for an opinion, which I must go and think over.

DUNSFORD. Shall we have another reading to-morrow?

MILVERTON. Yes, if you are both in the humor for it.

CHAPTER II.

As the next day was fine, we agreed to have our reading in the spot that I have described before. There was scarcely any conversation worth noting, until after Milverton had read us the following essay on Conformity.

CONFORMITY.

THE conformity of men is often a far poorer thing than that which resembles it amongst the lower animals. The monkey imitates from imitative skill and gamesomeness: the sheep is gregarious, having no sufficient will to form an independent project of its own. But man often loathes what he imitates, and conforms to what he knows to be wrong.

It will ever be one of the nicest problems for a man to solve, how far he shall profit by the thoughts of other men, and not be enslaved by them. He comes into the world, and finds swaddling clothes ready for his mind as well as his body. There is a vast scheme of social machinery set up about him; and he has to discern

how he can make it work with him and for him, without becoming part of the machinery himself. In this lie the anguish and the struggle of the greatest minds. Most sad are they, having mostly the deepest sympathies, when they find themselves breaking off from communion with other minds. They would go on, if they could, with the opinions around them. But, happily, there is something to which a man owes a larger allegiance than to any human affection. He would be content to go away from a false thing, or quietly to protest against it; but in spite of him the strife in his heart breaks into burning utterance by word or deed.

Few, however, are those who venture, even for the shortest time, into that hazy world of independent thought, where a man is not upheld by a crowd of other men's opinions, but where he must find a footing of his own. Among the mass of men, there is little or no resistance to conformity. Could the history of opinions be fully written, it would be seen how large a part in human proceedings the love of conformity, or rather the fear of non-conformity, has occasioned. It has triumphed over all other fears; over love, hate, pity, sloth, anger, truth, pride, comfort, self-interest, vanity, and maternal love. It has torn down the sense of beauty in the human soul, and set up in its place little ugly idols which it compels us to worship with more than Japanese

devotion. It has contradicted nature in the most obvious things, and been listened to with abject submission. Its empire has been no less extensive than deep-seated. The serf to custom points his finger at the slave to fashion—as if it signified whether it is an old, or a new, thing which is irrationally conformed to. The man of letters despises both the slaves of fashion and of custom, but often runs his narrow career of thought, shut up, though he sees it not, within close walls which he does not venture even to peep over.

It is hard to say in what department of human thought and endeavor conformity has triumphed most. Religion comes to one's mind first; and well it may, when one thinks what men have conformed to in all ages in that matter. If we pass to art, or science, we shall see there too the wondrous slavery which men have endured—from puny fetters moreover, which one stirring thought would, as we think, have burst asunder. The above, however, are matters not within every one's cognizance; some of them are shut in by learning, or the show of it; and plain "practical" men would say, they follow where they have no business but to follow. But the way in which the human body shall be covered is not a thing for the scientific and the learned only: and is allowed on all hands to concern, in no small degree, one half at least of

the creation. It is in such a simple thing as dress that each of us may form some estimate of the extent of conformity in the world. A wise nation, unsubdued by superstition, with the collected experience of peaceful ages, concludes that female feet are to be clothed by crushing them. The still wiser nations of the west have adopted a swifter mode of destroying health, and creating angularity, by crushing the upper part of the female body. In such matters nearly all people conform. Our brother man is seldom so bitter against us, as when we refuse to adopt at once his notions of the infinite. But even religious dissent were less dangerous and more respectable than dissent in dress. If you want to see what men will do in the way of conformity, take a European hat for your subject of meditation. I dare say there are twenty-two millions of people at this minute, each wearing one of these hats in order to please the rest. As in the fine arts, and in architecture especially, so in dress, something is often retained that was useful when something else was beside it. To go to architecture for an instance, a pinnacle is retained, not that it is of any use where it is, but in another kind of building it would have been. That style of building, as a whole, has gone out of fashion, but the pinnacle has somehow or other kept its ground, and must be there, no one insolently going back to first principles and asking

what is the use and object of building pinnacles. Similar instances in dress will occur to my readers. Some of us are not skilled in such affairs; but looking at old pictures we may sometimes see how modern clothes have attained their present pitch of frightfulness and inconvenience. This matter of dress is one in which, perhaps, you might expect the wise to conform to the foolish: and they have.

When we have once come to a right estimate of the strength of conformity, we shall, I think, be more kindly disposed to eccentricity than we usually are. Even a wilful or an absurd eccentricity is some support against the weighty common-place conformity of the world. If it were not for some singular people who persist in thinking for themselves, in seeing for themselves, and in being comfortable, we should all collapse into a hideous uniformity.

It is worth while to analyze that influence of the world which is the right arm of conformity. Some persons bend to the world in all things, from an innocent belief that what so many people think must be right. Others have a vague fear of the world as of some wild beast which may spring out upon them at any time. Tell them they are safe in their houses from this myriad-eyed creature: they still are sure that they shall meet with it some day, and would

CONFORMITY.



propitiate its favor at any sacrifice. Many men contract their idea of the world to their own circle, and what they imagine to be said in that circle of friends and acquaintances is their idea of public opinion—"as if," to use a saying of Southey's, "a number of worldlings made a world." With some unfortunate people, the much dreaded "world" shrinks into one person of more mental power than their own, or, perhaps, merely of coarser nature: and the fancy as to what this person will say about any thing they do, fits them like a nightmare. Happy the man who can embark his small adventure of deeds and thoughts upon the shallow waters round his home, or send them afloat on the wide sea of humanity, with no great anxiety in either case as to what reception they may meet with! He would have them steer by the stars, and take what wind may come to them.

A reasonable watchfulness against conformity will not lead a man to spurn the aid of other men, still less to reject the accumulated mental capital of ages. It does not compel us to doat upon the advantages of savage life. We would not forego the hard-earned gains of civil society because there is something in most of them which tends to contract the natural powers, although it vastly aids them. We would not, for instance, return to the monosyllabic utterance

of barbarous men, because in any formed language there are a thousand snares for the understanding. Yet we must be most watchful of them. And in all things, a man must beware of so conforming himself, as to crush his nature and forego the purpose of his being. We must look to other standards than what men may say or think. We must not abjectly bow down before rules and usages; but must refer to principles and purposes. In a few words, we must think, not whom we are following, but what we are doing. If not, why are we gifted with individual life at all? Uniformity does not consist with the higher forms of vitality. Even the leaves of the same tree are said to differ, each one from all the rest. And can it be good for the soul of a man "with a biography of its own like to no one else's," to subject itself without thought to the opinions and ways of others,—not to grow into symmetry, but to be moulded down into conformity?

ELLESMERE. Well, I rather like that essay. I was afraid, at first, it was going to have more of the fault into which you essay-writers generally fall, of being a comment on the abuse of a thing, and not on the thing itself. There always seems to me to want another essay on the other side. But I think at the end, you protect yourself against misconstruction. In the spirit of the essay you know of course that I quite agree with you. Indeed, I differ from all the ordinary biographers

of that independent gentleman, Don't Care. I believe Don't Care came to a good end. At any rate he came to some end. Whereas numbers of people never have beginning, or ending, of their own. An obscure dramatist, Milverton, whom we know of, makes one of his characters say, in reply to some world-fearing wretch :

“While you, you think

What others think, or what you think they'll say,
Shaping your course by something scarce more tangible
Than dreams, at best the shadows on the stream
Of aspen trees by flickering breezes swayed—
Load me with irons, drive me from morn till night,
I am not the utter slave which that man is,
Whose sole word, thought, and deed, are built on what
The world may say of him.”

MILVERTON. Never mind the obscure dramatist. But, Ellesmere, you really are unreasonable, if you suppose that, in the limits of a short essay, you can accurately distinguish all you write between the use and the abuse of a thing. The question is, will people misunderstand you—not, is the language such as to be logically impregnable? Now, in the present case, no man will really suppose it is a wise and just conformity that I am inveighing against.

ELLESMERE. I am not sure of that. If everybody is to have independent thought, would there not be a fearful instability and want of compactness? Another thing, too—conformity often saves so much time and trouble.

MILVERTON. Yes; it has its uses. I do not mean, in the world of opinion and morality, that it should be all elasticity and no gravitation: but at least enough

elasticity to preserve natural form and independent being.

ELLESMERE. I think it would have been better if you had turned the essay another way, and instead of making it on conformity had made it on interference. That is the greater mischief and the greater folly, I think. Why do people unreasonably conform? Because they fear unreasonable interference. War, I say, is interference on a small scale compared with the interference of private life. Then the absurdity on which it proceeds; that men are all alike, or that it is desirable that they should be; and that what is good for one is good for all.

DUNSFORD. I must say I think, Milverton, you do not give enough credit for sympathy, good-nature, and humility as material elements in the conformity of the world.

ELLESMERE. I am not afraid, my dear Dunsford, of the essay doing much harm. There is a power of sleepy conformity in the world. You may just startle your conformists for a minute, but they gravitate into their old way very soon. You talk of their humility, Dunsford, but I have heard people who have conformed to opinions, without a pretence of investigation, as arrogant and intolerant towards anybody who differed from them, as if they stood upon a pinnacle of independent sagacity and research.

DUNSFORD. One never knows, Ellesmere, on which side you are. I thought you were on mine a minute or two ago; and now you come down upon me with more than Milverton's anti-conforming spirit.

ELLESMERE. The greatest mischief, as I take it, of

this slavish conformity, is in the reticence it creates. People will be, what are called, intimate friends, and yet no real interchange of opinion takes place between them. A man keeps his doubts, his difficulties, and his peculiar opinions to himself. He is afraid of letting anybody know that he does not exactly agree with the world's theories on all points. There is no telling the hindrance that this is to truth.

MILVERTON. A great cause of this, Ellesmere, is in the little reliance you can have on any man's secrecy. A man finds that what, in the heat of discussion, and in the perfect carelessness of friendship, he has said to his friend, is quoted to people whom he would never have said it to; knowing that it would be sure to be misunderstood, or half understood, by them. And so he grows cautious; and is very loth to communicate to anybody his more cherished opinions, unless they fall in exactly with the stream. Added to which, I think there is in these times less than there ever was, of a proselytizing spirit: and people are content to keep their opinions to themselves—more, perhaps, from indifference than from fear.

ELLESMERE. Yes, I agree with you.

By the way, I think your taking dress as an illustration of extreme conformity is not bad. Really it is wonderful the degree of square and dull hideousness to which in the process of time and tailoring, and by severe conformity, the human creature's outward appearance has arrived. Look at a crowd of men from a height, what an ugly set of ants they appear! Myself, when I see an Eastern man, one of the people attached

to their embassies, sweeping by us in something flowing and stately, I feel inclined to take off my hat to him, (only that I think the hat might frighten him,) and say here is a great, unhatted, uncravated, bearded man, not a creature clipt and twisted and tortured into tailorhood.

DUNSFORD. Ellesmere broke in upon me just now, so that I did not say all that I meant to say. But, Milverton, what would you admit that we are to conform to? In silencing the general voice, may we not give too much opportunity to our own headstrong suggestions, and to wilful license?

MILVERTON. Yes: to be somewhat deaf to the din of the world may be no gain, even loss, if then we only listen more to the worst part of ourselves: but in itself it is a good thing to silence that din. It is at least a beginning of good. If any thing good is then gained, it is not a sheepish tendency, but an independent resolve growing out of our nature. And, after all, when we talk of non-conformity, it may only be that we non-conform to the immediate sect of thought or action about us, to conform to a much wider thing in human nature.

ELLESMERE. Ah me! how one wants a moral essayist always at hand to enable one to make use of moral essays!

MILVERTON. Your rules of law are grand things—the proverbs of justice; yet has not each case its specialties, requiring to be argued with much circumstance, and capable of different interpretations? Words cannot be made into men.

DUNSFORD. I wonder you answer his sneers, Milverton.

ELLESMERE. I must go and see whether words cannot be made into guineas: and then guineas into men is an easy thing. These trains will not wait even for critics, so, for the present, good bye.

CHAPTER III.

ELLESMERE soon wrote us word that he would be able to come down again; and I agreed to be at Worth-Ashton (Milverton's house) on the day of his arrival. I had scarcely seated myself at our usual place of meeting before the friends entered, and after greeting me, the conversation thus began:

ELLESMERE. Upon my word, you people who live in the country have a pleasant time of it. As Milverton was driving me from the station through Durley Wood, there was such a rich smell of pines, such a twittering of birds, so much joy, sunshine, and beauty, that I began to think, if there were no such place as London, it really would be very desirable to live in the country.

MILVERTON. What a climax! But I am always very suspicious, when Ellesmere appears to be carried away by any enthusiasm, that it will break off suddenly, like the gallop of a post-horse.

DUNSFORD. Well, what are we to have for our essay?

MILVERTON. Despair.

ELLESMERE. I feel equal to any thing just now, and so, if it must be read sometime or other, let us have it now.

MILVERTON. You need not be afraid. I want to take away, not to add, gloom. Shall I read?

We assented, and he began.

DESPAIR.

DESPAIR may be serviceable when it arises from a temporary prostration of spirits; during which the mind is insensibly healing, and her scattered power silently returning. This is better than to be the sport of a teasing hope without reason. But to indulge in despair as a habit, is slothful, cowardly, short-sighted; and manifestly tends against nature. Despair is then the paralysis of the soul.

These are the principal causes of despair: remorse, the sorrows of the affections, worldly trouble, morbid views of religion, native melancholy.

REMORSE.

Remorse does but add to the evil which bred it, when it promotes, not penitence, but despair. To have erred in one branch of our duties does not unfit us for the performance of all the rest, unless we suffer the dark spot to spread over our whole nature, which may happen almost unob-

served in the torpor of despair. This kind of despair is chiefly grounded on a foolish belief that individual words or actions constitute the whole life of man: whereas they are often not fair representatives of portions even of that life. The fragments of rock in a mountain stream may tell much of its history, are in fact results of its doings, but they are not the stream. They were brought down when it was turbid; it may now be clear: they are as much the result of other circumstances as of the action of the stream: their history is fitful; they give us no sure intelligence of the future course of the stream, or of the nature of its waters: and may scarcely show more than it has not been always as it is. The actions of men are often but little better indications of the men themselves.

A prolonged despair arising from remorse is unreasonable at any age, but if possible, still more so when felt by the young. To think, for example, that the great Being who made us, could have made eternal ruin and misery inevitable to a poor half-fledged creature of eighteen or nineteen! And yet how often has the profoundest despair from remorse brooded over children of that age and eaten into their hearts!

There is frequently much selfishness about remorse. Put what has been done at the worst. Let a man see his own evil word, or deed, in full light, and own it to be black as hell itself. He

is still here. He cannot be isolated. There still remain for him cares and duties; and, therefore, hopes. Let him not in imagination link all creation to his fate. Let him yet live in the welfare of others, and, if it may be so, work out his own in this way: if not, be content with theirs. The saddest cause of remorseful despair is when a man does something expressly contrary to his character: when an honorable man, for instance, slides into some dishonorable action: or a tender-hearted man falls into cruelty from carelessness: or, as often happens, a sensitive nature continues to give the greatest pain to others from temper, feeling all the time, perhaps, more deeply than the persons aggrieved. All these cases may be summed up in the words, "That which I would not, that I do," the saddest of all human concessions, made by one of the greatest men. However, the evil cannot be mended by despair. Hope and humility are the only supports under this burden. As Mr. Carlyle says,

"What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, true, often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it, be forgotten? 'It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.' Of all acts, is not, for a man, *repentance* the most divine? The deadliest sin, I say, were that same supercilious consciousness of no sin; that is death; the heart so conscious is divorced from sincerity, humility, and fact: is dead: it is 'pure' as dead dry land is pure.

David's life and history, as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul towards what is good and best. Struggle often baffled, sore baffled, down as into entire wreck; yet a struggle never ended; ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose, begun anew. Poor human nature! Is not a man's walking, in truth, always that—a 'succession of falls?' Man can do no other. In this wild element of a Life, he has to struggle onwards; now fallen, deep abased; and ever, with tears, repentance, with bleeding heart, he has to rise again, struggle again still onwards. That his struggle *be* a faithful, unconquerable one—this is the question of questions."

THE SORROWS OF THE AFFECTIONS.

The loss by death of those we love has the first place in these sorrows. Yet the feeling in this case, even when carried to the highest, is not exactly despair, having too much warmth in it for that. Not much can be said in the way of comfort on this head. Queen Elizabeth, in her hard, wise way, writing to a mother who had lost her son, tells her that she will be comforted in time; and why should she not do for herself what the mere lapse of time will do for her? Brave words! and the stern woman, more earnest than the sage in Rasselas, would have tried

their virtue on herself. But I fear they fell somewhat coldly on the mother's ear. Happily, in these bereavements, kind nature with her opiates, day by day administered, does more than all the skill of the physician-moralists. Sir Thomas Browne says :

“Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings ; we slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest strokes of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities, miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which, notwithstanding, is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come, and forgetful of evils past, is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil days, and our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions.”

The good knight thus makes much comfort out of our physical weakness. But something may be done in a very different direction—namely, by spiritual strength. By elevating and purifying the sorrow, we may take it more out of matter as it were, and so feel less the loss of what is material about it.

The other sorrows of the affections which may produce despair, are those in which the affections

are wounded, as jealousy, love unrequited, friendship betrayed, and the like. As, in despair from remorse, the whole life seems to be involved in one action; so, in the despair we are now considering, the whole life appears to be shut up in the one unpropitious affection. Yet human nature, if fairly treated, is too large a thing to be suppressed into despair by one affection, however potent. We might imagine that if there were any thing that would rob life of its strength and favor, it is domestic unhappiness. And yet how numerous is the band of those whom we know to have been eminently unhappy in some domestic relation, but whose lives have been full of vigorous and kindly action! Indeed, the culture of the world has been largely carried on by such men. As long as there is life in the plant, though it be sadly pent in, it will grow towards any opening of light that is left for it.

WORLDLY TROUBLE.

This appears too mean a subject for despair, or, at least, unworthy of having any remedy, or soothing, thought out of it. Whether a man lives in a large room, or a small one, rides, or is obliged to walk, gets a plenteous dinner every day, or a sparing one, do not seem matters for despair. But the truth is, that worldly trouble, such for instance as loss of fortune, is seldom

the simple thing that poets would persuade us

"The little or the much she gave is quietly resigned,
Content with poverty my soul I arm,
And virtue, though in rags, will keep me warm."

So sings Dryden, paraphrasing Horace, but each of them, with their knowledge of the world, cross-questioned in prose, could have told us how the stings of fortune really are felt. The truth is, that fortune is not exactly a distinct isolated thing which can be taken away—"and there an end." But much has to be severed, with undoubted pain in the operation. A man mostly feels that his reputation for sagacity, often his honor, the comfort too, or supposed comfort of others, are embarked in his fortunes. Mere stoicism, and resolves about fitting fortune to one's self, not one's self to fortune, though good things enough in their way, will not always meet the whole of the case. And a man who could bear personal distress of any kind with Spartan indifference, may suffer himself to be overwhelmed by despair growing out of worldly trouble. A frequent origin of such despair, as, indeed, of all despair, (not by any means excluding despair from remorse,) is pride. Let a man say to himself, "I am not the perfect character I meant to be; this is not the conduct I had imagined for myself; these are not the fortunate circumstances I had always intended to be sur-

rounded by." Let him at once admit that he is on a lower level than his ideal one; and then see what is to be done there. This seems the best way of treating all that part of worldly trouble which consists of self-reproval. We scarcely know of any outward life continuously prosperous: (and a very dull one it would be:) why should we expect the inner life to be one course of unbroken self-improvement, either in prudence or in virtue?

Before a man gives way to excessive grief about the fortunes of his family being lost with his own, he should think whether he really knows wherein lies the welfare of others. Give him some fairy power, inexhaustible purses or magic lamps, not, however, applying to the mind; and see whether he could make those whom he would favor, good or happy. In the East they have a proverb of this kind, Happy are the children of those fathers who go to the evil one. But for any thing that our western experience shows, the proverb might be reversed, and, instead of running thus, Happy are the sons of those who have got money any how, it might be, Happy are the sons of those who have failed in getting money. In fact there is no sound proverb to be made about it either way. We know nothing about the matter. Our surest influence for good or evil over others is through themselves. Our ignorance of what is physically

good for any man may surely prevent any thing like despair with regard to that part of the fortunes of others dear to us, which, as we think, is bound up with our own.

MORBID VIEWS OF RELIGION.

As religion is the most engrossing subject that can be presented to us, it will be considered in all states of mind and by all minds. It is impossible but that the most hideous and perverted views of religion must arise. To combat the particular views which may be supposed to cause religious despair, would be too theological an undertaking for this essay. One thing only occurs to me to say, namely, that the lives and the mode of speaking about themselves adopted by the founders of Christianity, afford the best contradiction to religious melancholy that I believe can be met with.

NATIVE MELANCHOLY.

There is such a thing. Jacques, without the "sundry contemplation" of his travels, or any "simples" to "compound" his melancholy from, would have ever been wrapped in a "most humorous sadness." It was innate. This melancholy may lay its votaries open to any other cause of despair, but having mostly some touch of phi-

losophy, (if it be not absolutely morbid,) it is not unlikely to preserve them from any extremity. It is not acute, but chronic.

It may be said in its favor that it tends to make men indifferent to their own fortunes. But then the sorrow of the world presses more deeply upon them. With large open hearts, the untowardness of things present, the miseries of the past, the mischief, stupidity, and error which reign in the world, at times almost crush your melancholy men. Still, out of their sadness may come their strength, or, at least, the best direction of it. Nothing, perhaps, is lost: not even sin—much less sorrow.

ELLESMERE. I am glad you have ended as you have: for, previously, you seemed to make too much of getting rid of all distress of mind. I always liked that passage in "Philip van Artevelde," where Father John says,

"He that lacks time to mourn, lacks time to mend.
Eternity mourns that."

You have a better memory than I have: how does it go on?

MILVERTON.

"'Tis an ill cure
For life's worst ills, to have no time to feel them.
Where sorrow's held intrusive and turned out,
There wisdom will not enter, nor true power,
Nor aught that dignifies humanity."

Still this does not justify despair, which was what I was writing about.

ELLESMERE. Perhaps it was not a just criticism of mine. One part of the subject you have certainly omitted. You do not tell us how much there often is of physical disorder in despair. I dare say you will think it a coarse and unromantic mode of looking at things; but I must confess I agree with what Leigh Hunt has said somewhere, that one can walk down distress of mind—even remorse, perhaps.

MILVERTON. Yes: I am for the Peripatetics against all other philosophers.

ELLESMERE. By the way, there is a passage in one of Hazlitt's essays, I thought of while you were reading, about remorse and religious melancholy. He speaks of mixing up religion and morality; and then goes on to say, that Calvinistic notions have obscured and prevented self-knowledge.*

* The passage which must have been alluded to is this: "The stricter tenets of Calvinism, which allow of no medium between grace and reprobation, and doom man to eternal punishment for every breach of the moral law, as an equal offence against infinite truth and justice, proceed (like the paradoxical doctrine of the Stoics) from taking a half view of this subject, and considering man as amenable only to the dictates of his understanding and his conscience, and not excusable from the temptations and frailty of human ignorance and passion. The mixing up of religion and morality together, or the making us accountable for every word, thought, or action, under no less a responsibility than our everlasting future welfare or misery, has also added incalculably to the difficulties of self-knowledge, has superinduced a violent and spurious state of feeling, and made it almost impossible to distinguish the boundaries between the true and false, in judging of human conduct and

Give me the essay—there is a passage I want to look at. This comparison of life to a mountain stream, the rocks brought down by it being the actions, is too much worked out. When we speak of similes not going on four legs, it implies, I think, that a simile is at best but a four-legged animal. Now this is almost a centipede of a simile. I think I have had the same thought as yours here, and I have compared the life of an individual to a curve. You both smile. Now I thought that Dunsford at any rate would be pleased with this reminiscence of college days. But to proceed with my curve. You may have numbers of the points, through which it passes, given; and yet know nothing of the nature of the curve itself. See, now, it shall pass through here and here, but how it will go in the interval, what is the law of its being, we know not. But this simile would be too mathematical, I fear.

MILVERTON. I hold to the centipede.

ELLESMERE. Not a word has Dunsford said all this time.

DUNSFORD. I like the essay. I was not criticising as we went along, but thinking that, perhaps, the greatest charm of books is, that we see in them that other men have suffered what we have. Some souls we ever find who could have responded to all our agony, be it what it may. This at least robs misery of its loneliness.

motives. A religious man is afraid of looking into the state of his soul, lest at the same time he should reveal it to Heaven; and tries to persuade himself that by shutting his eyes to his true character and feelings, they will remain a profound secret, both here and hereafter."

ELLESMERE. On the other hand, the charm of intercourse with our fellows, when we are in sadness, is that they do not reflect it in any way. Each keeps his own trouble to himself, and often pretending to think and care about other things, comes to do so for the time.

DUNSFORD. Well, but you might choose books which would not reflect your troubles.

ELLESMERE. But the fact of having to make a choice to do this, does away, perhaps, with some part of the benefit: whereas, in intercourse with living men, you take what you find, and you find that neither your trouble, nor any likeness of it, is absorbing other people. But this is not the whole reason: the truth is, the life and impulses of other men are catching: you cannot explain exactly how it is that they take you out of yourself.

MILVERTON. No man is so confidential as when he is addressing the whole world. You find, therefore, more comfort for sorrow in books than in social intercourse. I mean more direct comfort; for I agree with what Ellesmere says about society.

ELLESMERE. In comparing men and books, one must always remember this important distinction—that one can put the books down at any time. As Macaulay says, "Plato is never sullen. Cervantes is never petulant. Demosthenes never comes unseasonably. Dante never stays too long."

MILVERTON. Besides, one can manage to agree so well, intellectually, with a book; and intellectual differences are the source of half the quarrels in the world.

ELLESMERE. Judicious shelving?

MILVERTON. Judicious skipping will nearly do. Now when one's friend, or one's self, is crotchety, dogmatic, or disputatious, one cannot turn over to another day.

ELLESMERE. Don't go, Dunsford. Here is a passage in the essay I meant to have said something about—"why should we expect the inner life to be one course of unbroken self-improvement," etc. You recollect? Well, it puts me in mind of a conversation between a complacent poplar and a grim old oak, which I overheard the other day. The poplar said, that it grew up quite straight, heavenwards, that all its branches pointed the same way, and always had done so. Turning to the oak, which it had been talking at before for some time, the poplar went on to remark, that it did not wish to say any thing unfriendly to a brother of the forest, but those warped and twisted branches seemed to show strange struggles. The tall thing concluded its oration by saying, that it grew up very fast, and that when it had done growing, it did not suffer itself to be made into huge floating engines of destruction. But different trees had different tastes. There was then a sound from the old oak, like an "ah" or a "whew," or, perhaps, it was only the wind amongst its resisting branches: and the gaunt creature said that it had had ugly winds from without and cross-grained impulses from within; that it knew it had thrown out awkwardly a branch here and a branch there, which would never come quite right again it feared; that men worked it up, sometimes for good and sometimes for evil—but that at any rate it had not lived for nothing. The pop-

lar began again immediately, for this kind of tree can talk forever, but I patted the old oak approvingly and went on.

MILVERTON. Well, your trees divide their discourse somewhat Ellesmerically : they do not talk with the simplicity La Fontaine's would : but there is a good deal in them. They are not altogether sappy.

ELLESMERE. I really thought of this fable of mine the other day as I was passing the poplar at the end of the valley, and I determined to give it you on the first occasion.

DUNSFORD. I hope, Ellesmere, you do not intend to put sarcastic notions into the sap of our trees hereabouts. There is enough of sarcasm in you to season a whole forest.

ELLESMERE. Dunsford is afraid of what the trees may say to the country gentlemen, and whether they will be able to answer them. I will be careful not to make the trees too clever.

MILVERTON. Let us go and try if we can hear any more forest talk. Let the winds, shaped into voices by the leaves, say many things to us at all times.

CHAPTER IV.

IN the course of our walk Milverton promised to read the following essay on Recreation the next day. I have no note of any thing that was said before the reading.

RECREATION.

This subject has not had the thought it merits. It seems trivial. It concerns some hours in the daily life of each of us ; but it is not connected with any subject of human grandeur, and we are rather ashamed of it. Schiller has some wise, but hard, words that relate to it. He perceives the pre-eminence of the Greeks who could do many things. He finds that modern men are units of great nations ; but not great units themselves. And there is some room for this reasoning of his.

Our modern system of division of labor divides wits also. The more necessity there is, therefore, for finding in recreation something to expand men's intelligence. There are intellectual pursuits almost as much divided as pin-making : and many a man goes through some intellectual

process, for the greater part of his working hours, which corresponds with the making of a pin's head. Must there not be some danger of a general contraction of mind from this convergence of attention upon something very small, for so considerable a portion of a man's life?

What answer can civilization give to this? It can say that greater results are worked out by the modern system: that though each man is doing less himself than he might have done in former days, he sees greater and better things accomplished; and that his thoughts, not bound down by his petty occupation, travel over the work of the human family. There is a great deal, doubtless, in this argument; but man is not altogether an intellectual recipient. He is a constructive animal also. It is not the knowledge that you can pour into him that will satisfy him, or enable him to work out his nature. He must see things for himself; he must have bodily work and intellectual work different from his bread-getting work; or he runs the danger of becoming a contracted pedant with a poor mind and a sickly body.

I have seen it quoted from Aristotle, that the end of labor is to gain leisure. It is a great saying. We have in modern times a totally wrong view of the matter. Noble work is a noble thing, but not all work. Most people seem to think that any business is in itself something

grand; that to be intensely employed, for instance, about something which has no truth, beauty, or usefulness in it, which makes no man happier or wiser, is still the perfection of human endeavor, so that the work be intense. It is the intensity, not the nature, of the work, that men praise. You see the extent of this feeling in little things. People are so ashamed of being caught for a moment idle, that if you come upon the most industrious servants or workmen whilst they are standing looking at something which interests them, or fairly resting, they move off in a fright, as if they were proved, by a moment's relaxation, to be neglectful of their work. Yet it is the result that they should mainly be judged by, and to which they should appeal. But amongst all classes, the working itself, incessant working, is the thing deified. Now what is the end and object of most work? To provide for animal wants. Not a contemptible thing by any means, but still it is not all in all with man. Moreover, in those cases where the pressure of bread-getting is fairly past, we do not often find men's exertions lessened on that account. There enter into their minds as motives, ambition, a love of hoarding, or a fear of leisure, things which, in moderation, may be defended or even justified, but which are not so peremptorily and upon the face of them excellent, that they at once dignify excessive labor.

The truth is, that to work insatiably requires much less mind than to work judiciously, and less courage than to refuse work that cannot be done honestly. For a hundred men whose appetite for work can be driven on by vanity, avarice, ambition, or a mistaken notion of advancing their families, there is about one who is desirous of expanding his own nature and the nature of others in all directions, of cultivating many pursuits, of bringing himself and those around him in contact with the universe in many points, of being a man and not a machine.

It may seem as if the preceding arguments were directed rather against excessive work, than in favor of recreation. But the first object in an essay of this kind should be to bring down the absurd estimate that is often formed of mere work. What ritual is to the formalist, or contemplation to the devotee, business is to the man of the world. He thinks he cannot be doing wrong as long as he is doing that.

No doubt hard work is a great police agent. If everybody were worked from morning till night, and then carefully locked up, the register of crimes might be greatly diminished. But what would become of human nature? Where would be the room for growth in such a system of things? It is through sorrow and mirth, plenty and need, a variety of passions, circum

stances, and temptations, even through sin and misery, that men's natures are developed.

Again, there are people who would say, "Labor is not all; we do not object to the cessation of labor—a mere provision for bodily ends; but we fear the lightness and vanity of what you call recreation." Do these people take heed of the swiftness of thought—of the impatience of thought? What will the great mass of men be thinking of, if they are taught to shun amusements and the thoughts of amusement? If any sensuality is left open to them, they will think of that. If not sensuality, then avarice, or ferocity for "the cause of God," as they would call it. People who have had nothing else to amuse them, have been very apt to indulge themselves in the excitement of persecuting their fellow-creatures.

Our nation, the northern part of it especially, is given to believe in the sovereign efficacy of dulness. To be sure, dulness and solid vice are apt to go hand in hand. But then, according to our notions, dulness is in itself so good a thing—almost a religion.

Now, if ever a people required to be amused, it is we sad-hearted Anglo-Saxons. Heavy eaters, hard thinkers, often given up to a peculiar melancholy of our own, with a climate that for months together would frown away mirth if it

could—many of us with very gloomy thoughts about our hereafter—if ever there were a people who should avoid increasing their dulness by all work and no play, we are that people. “They took their pleasure sadly,” says Froissart, “after their fashion.” We need not ask of what nation Froissart was speaking.

There is a theory which has done singular mischief to the cause of recreation and of general cultivation. It is that men cannot excel in more things than one; and that if they can, they had better be quiet about it. “Avoid music, do not cultivate art, be not known to excel in any craft but your own,” says many a worldly parent, thereby laying the foundation of a narrow, greedy character, and destroying means of happiness and of improvement which success, or even real excellence, in one profession only cannot give. This is, indeed, a sacrifice of the end of living for the means.

Another check to recreation is the narrow way in which people have hitherto been brought up at schools and colleges. The classics are pre-eminent works. To acquire an accurate knowledge of them is an admirable discipline. Still, it would be well to give a youth but few of these great works, and so leave time for various arts, accomplishments, and knowledge of external things exemplified by other means than books. If this cannot be done but by overworking, then

it had better not be done ; for of all things that must be avoided. But surely it can be done. At present, many a man who is versed in Greek metre, and afterwards full of law reports, is childishly ignorant of nature. Let him walk with an intelligent child for a morning, and the child will ask him a hundred questions about sun, moon, stars, plants, birds, building, farming, and the like, to which he can give very sorry answers, if any. Or, at the best, he has but a second-hand acquaintance with nature. Men's conceits are his main knowledge. Whereas, if he had any pursuit connected with nature, all nature is in harmony with it, is brought into his presence by it ; and it affords at once cultivation and recreation.

But, independently of those cultivated pursuits which form a high order of recreation, boyhood should never pass without the boy's learning several modes of recreation of the humbler kind. A parent, or teacher, seldom does a kinder thing by the child under his care, than when he instructs it in some manly exercise, some pursuit connected with nature out of doors, or even some domestic game. In hours of fatigue, anxiety, sickness, or worldly ferment, such means of amusement may delight the grown-up man when other things would fail.

An indirect advantage, but a very considerable one, attendant upon various modes of recrea-

tion is, that they provide opportunities of excelling in something to boys and men who are dull in things which form the staple of education. A boy cannot see much difference between the nominative and genitive cases—still less any occasion for aorists—but he is a good hand at some game or other ; and he keeps up his self-respect and the respect of others for him, upon his prowess in that game. He is better and happier on that account. And it is well, too, that the little world around him should know that excellence is not all of one form.

There are no details about recreation in this essay, the object here being mainly to show the worth of recreation ; and to defend it against objections from the over-busy and the over-strict. The sense of the beautiful, the desire for comprehending nature, the love of personal skill and prowess, are not things implanted in men merely to be absorbed in producing and distributing the objects of our most obvious animal wants. If civilization required this, civilization would be a failure. Still less, should we fancy that we are serving the cause of godliness, when we are discouraging recreation. Let us be hearty in our pleasures, as in our work, and not think that the gracious Being who has made us so open-hearted to delight, looks with dissatisfaction at our enjoyment, as a hard task-master might, who in the glee of his slaves could see only a hindrance

to their profitable working. And with reference to our individual cultivation, we may remember that we are not here to promote incalculable quantities of law, physic, or manufactured goods, but to become men: not narrow pedants, but wide-seeing, mind-travelled men. Who are the men of history to be admired most? Those whom most things became: who could be weighty in debate, of much device in council, considerate in a sick-room, genial at a feast, joyous at a festival, capable of discourse with many minds, large-souled, not to be shrivelled up into any one form, fashion, or temperament. Their contemporaries would have told us, that men might have various accomplishments and hearty enjoyments, and not for that be the less effective in business, or less active in benevolence. I distrust the wisdom of asceticism as much as I do that of sensuality: Simeon Stylites no less than Sardanapalus.

ELLESMERE. You alluded to Schiller at the beginning of the essay: can you show me his own words? I have a lawyer's liking for the best evidence.

MILVERTON. When we go in, I will show you some passages which bear me out in what I have made him say—at least, if the translation is faithful.*

* This was one of the passages which Milverton afterwards read to us.

"Thus, however much may be gained for the world as a whole by this fragmentary cultivation, it is not to be denied, that the

ELLESMERE. I have had a great respect for Schiller ever since I heard that saying of his about death. "Death cannot be an evil, for it is universal."

DUNSFORD. Very noble and full of faith.

ELLESMERE. Touching the essay, I like it well enough; but, perhaps, people will expect to find more about recreation itself: not only about the good of it, but what it is, and how it is to be got.

MILVERTON. I do not incline to go into detail about the matter. The object was to say something for the respectability of recreation, not to write a chapter of a book of sports. People must find out their own ways of amusing themselves.

individuals whom it befalls, are cursed for the benefit of the world. An athletic frame, it is true, is fashioned by gymnastic exercises, but a form of beauty only by free and uniform action. Just so the exertions of single talents can create extraordinary men indeed, but happy and perfect men only by their uniform temperature. And in what relation should we stand then to the past and coming ages, if the cultivation of human nature made necessary such a sacrifice? We should have been the slaves of humanity, and drudged for her century after century, and stamped upon our mutilated natures the humiliating traces of our bondage—that the coming race might nurse its moral healthfulness in blissful leisure, and unfold the free growth of its humanity!

"But can it be intended that man should neglect himself for any particular design? Ought nature to deprive us by its design of a perfection, which reason by its own prescribes to us? Then it must be false that the development of single faculties makes the sacrifice of totality necessary; or, if indeed the law of nature presses thus heavily, it becomes us to restore, by a higher art, this totality in our nature which art has destroyed."—*The Philosophical and Aesthetic Letters and Essays of Schiller*, translated by J. Weiss, pp. 74, 75.

ELLESMERE. I will tell you what is the paramount thing to be attended to in all amusements—that they should be short. Moralists are always talking about “short-lived” pleasures: would that they were!

DUNSFORD. Hesiod told the world some two thousand years ago, how much greater the half is than the whole.

ELLESMERE. Dinner-givers and managers of theatres should forthwith be made aware of that fact. What a sacrifice of good things, and of the patience and comfort of human beings, a cumbrous modern dinner is! I always long to get up and walk about.

DUNSFORD. Do not talk of modern dinners. Think what a Roman dinner must have been.

MILVERTON. Very true. It has always struck me that there is something quite military in the sensualism of the Romans—an “arbiter bibendi” chosen, and the whole feast moving on with fearful precision and apparatus of all kinds. Come, come, the world’s improving, Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. Had the Romans public dinners? Answer me that. Imagine a Roman, whose theory at least of a dinner was that it was a thing for enjoyment, whereas we often look on it as a continuation of the business of the day,—I say, imagine a Roman girding himself up, literally girding himself up, to make an after-dinner speech.

MILVERTON. I must allow that is rather a barbarous practice.

ELLESMERE. If charity, or politics, cannot be done without such things, I suppose they are useful in their way; but let nobody ever imagine that they are a form

of pleasure. People smearing each other over with stupid flattery, and most of the company being in dread of receiving some compliment which should oblige them to speak!

DUNSFORD. I should have thought, now, that you would always have had something to say, and therefore that you would not be so bitter against after-dinner speaking.

ELLESMERE. No; when I have nothing to say, I can say nothing.

MILVERTON. Would it not be a pleasant thing, if rich people would ask their friends sometimes to public amusements—order a play for them for instance—or at any rate provide some manifest amusement? They might, occasionally with great advantage, abridge the expense of their dinners, and throw it into other channels of hospitality.

ELLESMERE. Ah, if they would have good acting at their houses, that would be very delightful; but I cannot say that the being taken to any place of public amusement would much delight me. By the way, Milverton, what do you say of theatres in the way of recreation? This decline of the drama, too, is a thing you must have thought about: let us hear your notions.

MILVERTON. I think one of the causes sometimes assigned, that reading is more spread, and is a true and an important one; but, otherwise, I fancy that the present decline of the drama depends upon very small things which might be remedied. As to a love of the drama going out of the human heart, that is all nonsense. Put it at the lowest, what a great pleasure it is to hear a good play read! And, again, as to serious

pursuits unfitting men for dramatic entertainments, it is quite the contrary. A man, wearied with care and business, would find more change of ideas with less fatigue, in seeing a good play, than in almost any other way of amusing himself.

DUNSFORD. What are the causes then of the decline of the drama?

MILVERTON. In England, or rather in London, for London is England for dramatic purposes—in London, then, theatrical arrangements seem to be framed to drive away people of sense. The noisome atmosphere, the difficult approach, the over-size of the great theatres, the intolerable length of performances.

ELLESMERE. Hear! hear!

MILVERTON. The crowding together of theatres in one part of the town, the lateness of the hours—

ELLESMERE. The folly of the audience, who always applaud in the wrong place—

DUNSFORD. There is no occasion to say any more; I am quite convinced.

MILVERTON. But these annoyances need not be. Build a theatre of moderate dimensions; give it great facility of approach; take care that the performances never exceed three hours; let lions and dwarfs pass by without any endeavor to get them within the walls; lay aside all ambition of making stage waves which may almost equal real Ramsgate waves to our cockney apprehensions. Of course there must be good players and good plays.

ELLESMERE. Now we come to the part of Hamlet.

MILVERTON. Good players and good plays are both to be had, if there were good demand for them. But,

I was going to say, let there be all these things, especially let there be complete ventilation, and the theatre will have the most abundant success. Why, that one thing alone, the villanous atmosphere at most public places, is enough to daunt any sensible man from going to them.

DUNSFORD. There should be such a choice of plays—not merely Chamberlain-clip—as any man or any woman could go to.

MILVERTON. There should be certainly, but how is such a choice to be made, if the people who could regulate it, for the most part, stay away. It is a dangerous thing, the better classes leaving any great source of amusement and instruction wholly, or greatly, to the less refined classes.

DUNSFORD. Yes, I must confess it is.

Great part of your arguments apply to musical as well as to theatrical entertainments. Do you find similar results with respect to them?

MILVERTON. Why, they are not attended by any means as they would be, or made what they might be, if the objections I mention were removed.

DUNSFORD. What do you say to the out-of-door entertainments for a town population?

MILVERTON. As I said before, my dear Dunsford, I cannot give you a chapter of a "Book of Sports." There ought, of course, to be parks for all quarters of the town; and I confess it would please me better to see, in holiday times and hours of leisure, hearty games going on in these parks, than a number of people sauntering about in uncomfortably new and unaccustomed clothes.

ELLESMERE. Do you not see, Dunsford, that, like a cautious official man, he does not want to enter into small details, which have always an air of ridicule? He is not prepared to pledge himself to cricket, golf, foot-ball, or prisoner's bars: but in his heart he is manifestly a young Englander—without the white waistcoat. Nothing would please him better than to see in large letters on one of those advertising vans, "Great match! Victoria Park!! Eleven of Fleet Street against the eleven of Saffron Hill!!!"

MILVERTON. Well, there is a great deal in the spirit of young England that I like very much, indeed that I respect.

ELLESMERE. I should like the young England party better myself if I were quite sure there was no connection between them and a clan of sour, pity-mongering people, who wash one away with eternal talk about the contrast between riches and poverty; with whom a poor man is always virtuous; and who would, if they could, make him as envious and as discontented as possible.

MILVERTON. Nothing can be more strikingly in contrast with such thinkers than young England. Young Englanders, according to the best of their theories, ought to be men of warm sympathy with all classes. There is no doubt of this, that very seldom does any good thing arise, but there comes an ugly phantom of a caricature of it, which sidles up against the reality, mouths its favorite words as a third-rate actor does a great part, under-mimics its wisdom, over-acts its folly, is by half the world taken for it, goes some way to suppress it in its own time, and, perhaps, lives for it in history.

ELLESMERE. Well brought out that metaphor, but

I don't know that it means more than, that the followers of a system do in general a good deal to corrupt it, or that when a great principle is worked into human affairs, a considerable accretion of human folly and falseness mostly grows round it: which things some of us had a suspicion of before.

DUNSFORD. To go back to the subject. What would you do for country amusements, Milverton? That is what concerns me, you know.

MILVERTON. Athletic amusements go on naturally here: do not require so much fostering as in towns. The commons must be carefully kept: I have quite a Cobbettian fear of their being taken away from us under some plausible pretext or other. Well, then, it strikes me that a great deal might be done to promote the more refined pleasures of life amongst our rural population. I hope we shall live to see many of Hullah's pupils playing an important part in this way. Of course, the foundation for these things may best be laid at schools; and is being laid in some places, I am happy to say.

ELLESMERE. Humph, music, sing-song!

MILVERTON. Don't you observe, Dunsford, that when Ellesmere wants to attack us, and does not exactly see how, he mutters to himself sarcastically, sneering himself up as it were to the attack.

ELLESMERE. You and Dunsford are both wild for music, from barrel-organs upwards.

MILVERTON. I confess to liking the humblest attempts at melody.

DUNSFORD. I feel, as Sir Thomas Browne tells us he felt, that "even that vulgar and tædious music, which

makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and a profound contemplation of the first composer. There is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world, and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear, as the whole world well understood, would afford the understanding."

MILVERTON. Apropos of music in country places, when I was going about last year in the neighboring county, I saw such a pretty scene at one of the towns. They had got up a band which played once a week in the evening. It was a beautiful summer evening, and the window of my room at the inn overlooked the open space they had chosen for their performances. There was the great man of the neighborhood in his carriage, looking as if he came partly on duty, as well as for pleasure. Then there were burly tradesmen, with an air of quiet satisfaction, sauntering about, or leaning against railings. Some were no doubt critical—thought that Will Miller did not play as well as usual this evening. Will's young wife, who had come out to look again at him in his band-dress, (for the band had a uniform,) thought differently. Little boys broke out into imaginary polkas, having some distant reference to the music: not without grace though. The sweep was pre-eminent; as if he would say, "Dirty and sooty as I am, I have a great deal of fun in me. Indeed what would May-day be but for me?" Studios little boys of the free school, all green, grasshopper-looking, walked about as boys knowing something of Latin. Here and there went a couple of them in childish loving way, with their arms about each other's necks. Matrons

and shy young maidens sat upon the door-steps near. Many a merry laugh filled up the interludes of music. And when evening came softly down upon us, the band finished with "God save the Queen," the little circle of those who would hear the last note moved off, there was a clattering of shutters, a shining of lights through casement-windows, and soon the only sound to be heard was the rough voice of some villager, who would have been too timid to adventure any thing by daylight, but now sang boldly out as he went homewards.

ELLESMERE. Very pretty, but it sounds to me somewhat fabulous.

MILVERTON. I assure you—

ELLESMERE. Yes, you were tired, had a good dinner, read a speech for, or against, the corn-laws, fell asleep of course, and had this ingenious dream, which, to this day, you believe to have been a reality. I understand it all.

MILVERTON. I wish I could have many more such dreams.

VOL. I.

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CHAPTER V.

OUR last conversation broke off abruptly on the entrance of a visitor; we forgot to name a time for our next meeting; and when I came again, I found Milverton alone in his study. He was reading Count Rumford's essays.

DUNSFORD. So you are reading Count Rumford. What is it that interests you there?

MILVERTON. Every thing he writes about. He is to me a delightful writer. He throws so much life into all his writings. Whether they are about making the most of food or fuel, or propounding the benefits of bathing, or inveighing against smoke, it is that he went and saw and did and experimented himself, and upon himself. His proceedings at Munich to feed the poor are more interesting than many a novel. It is surprising, too, how far he was before the world in all the things he gave his mind to.

Here Ellesmere entered.

ELLESMERE. I heard you were come, Dunsford: I hope we shall have an essay to-day. My critical faculties have been dormant for some days and want to be roused a little. Milverton was talking to you

about Count Rumford when I came in, was he not? Ah, the Count is a great favorite with Milverton when he is down here; but there is a book up stairs, which is Milverton's real favorite just now, a portentous looking book; some relation to a blue book, something about sewerage, or health of towns, or public improvements, over which said book our friend here goes into enthusiasms. I am sure if it could be reduced to the size of that tatterdemalion Horace that he carries about, the poor little Horace would be quite supplanted.

MILVERTON. Now, I must tell you, Dunsford, that Ellesmere himself took up this book he talks about, and it was a long time before he put it down.

ELLESMERE. Yes, there is something in real life, even though it is in the unheroic part of it, that interests one. I mean to get through the book.

DUNSFORD. What are we to have to-day for our essay?

MILVERTON. Let us adjourn to the garden, and I will read you an essay on Greatness, if I can find it.

We went to our favorite place, and Milverton read us the following essay.

G R E A T N E S S .

You cannot substitute any epithet for great, when you are talking of great men. Greatness is not general dexterity carried to any extent; nor proficiency in any one subject of human endeavor. There are great astronomers, great

scholars, great painters, even great poets, who are very far from great men. Greatness can do without success, and with it. William is greater in his retreats than Marlborough in his victories. On the other hand, the uniformity of Cæsar's success does not dull his greatness. Greatness is not in the circumstances, but in the man.

What does this greatness then consist in? Not in a nice balance of qualities, purposes, and powers. That will make a happy man, a successful man, a man always in his right depth. Nor does it consist in absence of errors. We need only glance back at any list that can be made of great men, to be convinced of that. Neither does greatness consist in energy, though often accompanied by it. Indeed, it is rather the breadth of the waters, than the force of the current, that we look to, to fulfil our idea of greatness. There is no doubt that energy acting upon a nature endowed with the qualities that we sum up in the word cleverness, and directed to a few clear purposes, produces a great effect, and may sometimes be mistaken for greatness. If a man is mainly bent upon his own advancement, it cuts many a difficult knot of policy for him, and gives a force and distinctness to his mode of going on which looks grand. The same happens, if he has one pre-eminent idea of any kind, even though it should be a narrow one. Indeed, success in life is mostly gained by unity of purpose;

whereas greatness often fails by reason of its having manifold purposes, but it does not cease to be greatness on that account.

If greatness can be shut up in qualities, it will be found to consist in courage and in openness of mind and soul. These qualities may not seem at first to be so potent. But see what growth there is in them. The education of a man of open mind is never ended. Then, with openness of soul, a man sees some way into all other souls that come near him, feels with them, has their experience, is in himself a people. Sympathy is the universal solvent. Nothing is understood without it. The capacity of a man, at least for understanding, may almost be said to vary according to his powers of sympathy. Again, what is there that can counteract selfishness like sympathy? Selfishness may be hedged in by minute watchfulness and self-denial, but it is counteracted by the nature being encouraged to grow out and fix its tendrils upon foreign objects.

The immense defect that want of sympathy is, may be strikingly seen in the failure of the many attempts that have been made in all ages to construct the Christian character, omitting sympathy. It has produced numbers of people walking up and down one narrow plank of self-restraint, pondering over their own merits and demerits, keeping out, not the world exactly, but their fellow-creatures, from their hearts, and

caring only to drive their neighbors before them on this plank of theirs, or to push them headlong. Thus, with many virtues, and much hard work at the formation of character, we have had splendid bigots or censorious small people.

But sympathy is warmth and light too. It is, as it were, the moral atmosphere connecting all animated natures. Putting aside, for a moment, the large differences that opinions, language, and education make between men, look at the innate diversity of character. Natural philosophers were amazed when they thought they had found a newly-created species. But what is each man but a creature such as the world has not before seen? Then think how they pour forth in multitudinous masses, from princes delicately nurtured to little boys on scrubby commons or in dark cellars. How are these people to be understood, to be taught to understand each other, but by those who have the deepest sympathies with all. There cannot be a great man without large sympathy. There may be men who play loud-sounding parts in life without it, as on the stage, where kings and great people sometimes enter, who are only characters of secondary import—deputy great men. But the interest and the instruction lie with those who have to feel and suffer most.

Add courage to this openness we have been

considering: and you have a man who can own himself in the wrong, can forgive, can trust, can adventure, can, in short, use all the means that insight and sympathy endow him with.

I see no other essential characteristics in the greatness of nations than there are in the greatness of individuals. Extraneous circumstances largely influence nations as individuals; and make a larger part of the show of the former than of the latter; as we are wont to consider no nation great that is not great in extent or resources as well as in character. But of two nations, equal in other respects, the superiority must belong to the one which excels in courage and openness of mind and soul.

Again, in estimating the relative merits of different periods of the world, we must employ the same tests of greatness that we use to individuals. To compare, for instance, the present and the past. What astounds us most in the past is the wonderful intolerance and cruelty: a cruelty constantly turning upon the inventors; an intolerance provoking ruin to the thing it would foster. The most admirable precepts are thrown from time to time upon this cauldron of human affairs, and oftentimes they only seem to make it blaze the higher. We find men devoting the best part of their intellects to the invariable annoyance and persecution of their fellows. You

might think, that the earth brought forth with more abundant fruitfulness in the past than now, seeing that men found so much time for cruelty, but that you read of famines and privations which these latter days cannot equal. The recorded violent deaths amount to millions. And this is but a small part of the matter. Consider the modes of justice, the use of torture, for instance. What must have been the blinded state of the wise persons, (wise for their day,) who used torture? Did they ever think themselves, "what should we not say if we were subjected to this?" Many times they must really have desired to get at the truth: and such was their mode of doing it. Now, at the risk of being thought "a laudator" of time present, I would say, here is the element of greatness we have made progress in. We are more open in mind and soul. We have arrived (some of us at least) at the conclusion that men may honestly differ without offence. We have learned to pity each other more. There is a greatness in modern toleration which our ancestors knew not.

Then comes the other element of greatness, courage. Have we made progress in that? This is a much more dubious question. The subjects of terror vary so much in different times that it is difficult to estimate the different degrees of courage shown in resisting them.

Men fear public opinion now as they did in former times the star-chamber: and those awful goddesses, Appearances, are to us what the Fates were to the Greeks. It is hardly possible to measure the courage of a modern against that of an ancient; but I am unwilling to believe but that enlightenment must strengthen courage.

The application of the tests of greatness, as in the above instance, is a matter of detail, and of nice appreciation, as to the results of which men must be expected to differ largely: the tests themselves remain invariable—openness of nature to admit the light of love and reason, and courage to pursue it.

ELLESMERE. I agree to your theory, as far as openness of nature is concerned; but I do not much like to put that half-brute thing, courage, so high.

MILVERTON. Well, you cannot have greatness without it: you may have well-intentioned people and far-seeing people; but if they have no stoutness of heart, they will only be shifty or remonstrant, nothing like great.

ELLESMERE. You mean will, not courage. Without will, your open-minded, open-hearted man may be like a great, rudderless vessel driven about by all winds: not a small craft, but a most uncertain one.

MILVERTON. No. I mean both: both will and courage. Courage is the body to will.

ELLESMERE. I believe you are right in that; but do not omit will. It amused me to see how you

brought in one of your old notions—that this age is not contemptible. You scribbling people are generally on the other side.

MILVERTON. You malign us. If I must give any account for my personal predilection for modern times, it consists, perhaps, in this, that we may now speak our mind. What Tennyson says of his own land,

“The land, where, girt with friend or foe,
A man may say the thing he will,—”

may be said, in some measure, of the age in which we live. This is an inexpressible comfort. This doubles life. These things surely may be said in favor of the present age, not with a view to puff it up, but so far to encourage ourselves, as we may by seeing that the world does not go on for nothing, that all the misery, blood, and toil that has been spent, were not poured out in vain. Could we have our ancestors again before us, would they not rejoice at seeing what they had purchased for us: would they think it any compliment to them to extol their times at the expense of the present, and so to intimate that their efforts had led to nothing.

ELLESMERE. “I doubt,” as Lord Eldon would have said: no, upon second thoughts, I do not doubt. I feel assured that a good many of these said ancestors you are calling up would be much discomforted at finding that all their suffering had led to no sure basis of persecution of the other side.

DUNSFORD. I wonder, Ellesmere, what you would have done in persecuting times. What escape would your sarcasm have found for itself?

MILVERTON. Some orthodox way, I dare say. I do not think he would have been particularly fond of martyrdom.

ELLESMERE. No. I have no taste for making torches for truth, or being one: I prefer humane darkness to such illumination. At the same time one cannot tell lies: and if one had been questioned about the incomprehensibilities which men in former days were so fierce upon, one must have shown that one disagreed with all parties.

DUNSFORD. Do not say "one:" *I* should not have disagreed with the great Protestant leaders in the Reformation, for instance.

ELLESMERE. Humph!

MILVERTON. If we get aground upon the Reformation, we shall never push off again—else would I say something far from complimentary to those Protestant proceedings which we may rather hope were Tudoresque than Protestant.

ELLESMERE. No, that is not fair. The Tudors were a coarse, fierce race; but it will not do to lay the faults of their times upon them only. Look at Elizabeth's ministers. They had about as much notion of religious tolerance as they had of Professor Wheatstone's telegraph. It was not a growth of that age.

MILVERTON. I do not know. You have Cardinal Pole and the Earl of Essex, both tolerant men in the midst of bigots.

ELLESMERE. Well, as you said, Milverton, we shall never push off, if we once get aground on this subject.

DUNSFORD. I am in fault: so I will take upon myself to bring you quite away from the Reformation.

I have been thinking of that comparison in the essay of the present with the past. Such comparisons seem to me very useful, as they best enable us to understand our own times. And, then, when we have ascertained the state and tendency of our own age, we ought to strive to enrich it with those qualities which are complementary to its own. Now with all this toleration, which delights you so much, dear Milverton, is it not an age rather deficient in caring about great matters?

MILVERTON. If you mean great speculative matters, I might agree with you; but if you mean what I should call the greatest matters, such as charity, humanity, and the like, I should venture to differ with you, Dunsford.

DUNSFORD. I do not like to see the world indifferent to great speculative matters. I then fear shallowness and earthiness.

MILVERTON. It is very difficult to say what the world is thinking of now. It is certainly wrong to suppose that this is a shallow age because it is not driven by one impulse. As civilization advances, it becomes more difficult to estimate what is going on, and we set it all down as confusion. Now there is not one "great antique heart," whose beatings we can count, but many impulses, many circles of thought in which men are moving, many objects. Men are not all in the same state of progress, so cannot be moved in masses as of old. At one time chivalry urged all men—then the Church—and the phenomena were few, simple, and broad; or at least they seem so in history.

ELLESMERE. Very true: still I agree somewhat with Dunsford, that men are not agitated as they used

to be by the great speculative questions. I account for it in this way, that the material world has opened out before us: and we cannot but look at that, and must play with it and work at it. I would say, too, that philosophy had been found out; and there is something in that. Still I think if it were not for the interest now attaching to material things, great intellectual questions, not exactly of the old kind, would arise and agitate the world.

MILVERTON. There is one thing in my mind that may confirm your view. I cannot but think that the enlarged view we have of the universe must in some measure damp personal ambition. What is it to be King, Sheik, Tetrarch, or Emperor, over a bit of a little bit. Macbeth's speech, "we'd jump the life to come," is a thing a man with modern lights, however madly ambitious, would hardly utter.

DUNSFORD. Religious lights, Milverton?

MILVERTON. Of course not, if he had them: but I meant scientific lights. Sway over our fellow-creatures, at any rate any thing but mental sway, has shrunk into less proportions.

ELLESMERE. I have been looking over the essay. I think you may put in somewhere—that that age would probably be the greatest in which there was the least difference between great men and the people in general: when the former were only neglected, not hunted down.

MILVERTON. Yes.

ELLESMERE. You are rather lengthy here about the cruelties to be found in history: but we are apt to forget these matters.

MILVERTON. They always press upon my mind.

DUNSFORD. And on mine. I do not like to read much of history for that very reason. I get so sick at heart about it all.

MILVERTON. Ah, yes, history is a stupendous thing. To read it is like looking at the stars; we turn away in awe and perplexity. Yet there is some method running through the little affairs of man as through the multitude of suns, seemingly to us as confused as routed armies in full flight.

DUNSFORD. Some law of love.

ELLESMERE. I am afraid it is not in the past alone that we should be awe-struck with horrors; we, who have a slave-trade still on earth. But to go back to the essay, I like what you say about the theory of constructing the Christian character without geniality; only you do not go far enough. You are afraid. People are forever talking, especially you philanthropical people, about making others happy. I do not know any way so sure of making others happy as of being so one's self, to begin with. I do not mean that people are to be self-absorbed; but they are to drink in nature and life a little. From a genial, wisely-developed man good things radiate: whereas, you must allow, Milverton, that benevolent people are very apt to be one-sided and fussy, and not of the sweetest temper if others will not be good and happy in their way.

MILVERTON. That is really not fair. Of course, acid, small-minded people, carry their narrow notions and their acidity into their benevolence. Benevolence is no abstract perfection. Men will express their benevolence according to their other gifts or want of

gifts. If it is strong, it overcomes other things in the character which would be hindrances to it; but it must speak in the language of the soul it is in.

ELLESMERE. Come, let us go and see the pigs. I hear them grunting over their dinners in the farmyard. I like to see creatures who can be happy without a theory.

CHAPTER VI.

THE next time that I came over to Worth Ashton it was raining, and I found my friends in the study.

Well, Dunsford, said Ellesmere, is it not comfortable to have our sessions here for once, and to be looking out on a good solid English wet day.

DUNSFORD. Rather a fluid than a solid. But I agree with you in thinking it is very comfortable here.

ELLESMERE. I like to look upon the backs of books. First I think how much of the owner's inner life and character is shown in his books: then perhaps I wonder how he got such a book which seems so remote from all that I know of him—

MILVERTON. I shall turn my books the wrong side upwards when you come into the study.

ELLESMERE. But what amuses me most is to see the odd way in which books get together, especially in the library of a man who reads his books and puts them up again wherever there is room. Now here is a charming party: "A Treatise on the Steam Engine" between "Locke on Christianity" and Madame de Stael's "Corinne." I wonder what they talk about at night when we are all asleep. Here is another happy juxtaposition, old Clarendon next to a modern metaphysician whom he would positively loathe. Here is Sadler next to

Malthus, and Horsley next to Priestley; but this sort of thing happens most in best-regulated libraries. It is a charming reflection for controversial writers that their works will be put together on the same shelves, often between the same covers, and that, in the minds of educated men, the name of one writer will be sure to recall the name of the other. So they go down to posterity as a brotherhood.

MILVERTON. To complete Ellesmere's theory, we may say that all those injuries to books which we choose to throw upon some wretched worm, are but the wounds from rival books.

ELLESMERE. Certainly. But now let us proceed to polish up the weapons of another of these spiteful creatures.

DUNSFORD. Yes. What is to be our essay to-day, Milverton?

MILVERTON. Fiction.

ELLESMERE. Now, that is really unfortunate. Fiction is just the subject to be discussed, no, not discussed, talked over, out of doors, on a hot day, all of us lying about in easy attitudes on the grass, Dunsford with his gaiters forming a most picturesque and prominent figure. But there is nothing complete in this life. "Surgit amari aliquid:" and so we must listen to Fiction in arm-chairs.

FICTION.

THE influence of works of fiction is unbounded. Even the minds of well-informed

people are often more stored with characters from acknowledged fiction than from history, or biography, or the real life around them. We dispute about these characters as if they were realities. Their experience is our experience: we adopt their feelings, and imitate their acts. And so there comes to be something traditional even in the management of the passions. Shakespeare's historical plays were the only history to the Duke of Marlborough. Thousands of Greeks acted under the influence of what Achilles or Ulysses did, in Homer. The poet sings of the deeds that shall be. He imagines the past: he forms the future.

Yet how surpassingly interesting is real life, when we get an insight into it! Occasionally a great genius lifts up the veil of history, and we see men who once really were alive, who did not always live only in history. Or, amidst the dreary pages of battles, levies, sieges, and the sleep-inducing weavings and unweavings of political combination, we come, ourselves, across some spoken or written words of the great actors of the time; and are then fascinated by the life and reality of these things. Could you have the life of any man really portrayed to you, sun-drawn as it were, its hopes, its fears, its revolutions of opinion in each day, its most anxious wishes attained, and then, perhaps, crystallizing into its blackest regrets, such a work would go

far to contain all histories, and be the greatest lesson of love, humility, and tolerance, that men had ever read.

Now fiction does attempt something like the above. In history we are cramped by impertinent facts that must, however, be set down; by theories that must be answered; evidence that must be weighed; views that must be taken. Our facts constantly break off just where we should wish to examine them most closely. The writer of fiction follows his characters into the recesses of their hearts. There are no closed doors for him. His puppets have no secrets from their master. He plagues you with no doubts, no half views, no criticism. Thus they thought, he tells you, thus they looked, thus they acted. Then, with every opportunity for scenic arrangement, (for though his characters are confidential with him, he is only as confidential with his reader as the interest of the story will allow), it is not to be wondered at that the majority of readers should look upon history as a task, but tales of fiction as a delight.

The greatest merit of fiction is the one so ably put forward by Sir James Mackintosh: namely, that it creates and nourishes sympathy. It extends this sympathy, too, in directions where, otherwise, we hardly see when it would have come. But, it may be objected, that this sympathy is indiscriminate; and that we are in dan-

ger of mixing up virtue and vice and blurring both, if we are led to sympathize with all manner of wrong-doers. But in the first place, virtue and vice are so mixed in real life that it is well to be somewhat prepared for that fact. And moreover the sympathy is not wrongly directed. Who has not felt intense sympathy for Macbeth? Yet could he be alive again, with evil thoughts against "the gracious Duncan;" and could he see into all that has been felt for him, would that be an encouragement to murder? The intense pity of wise people for the crimes of others, when rightly represented, is one of the strongest antidotes against crime. We have taken the extreme case of sympathy being directed towards bad men. How often has fiction made us sympathize with obscure suffering and retiring greatness; with the world-despised, and especially with those mixed characters in whom we might, otherwise, see but one color—with Shylock and with Hamlet—with Jeanie Deans and with Claverhouse—with Sancho Panza as well as with Don Quixote!

On the other hand, there is a danger of too much converse with fiction leading us into dream-land, or rather into lubber-land. Of course this "too much converse" implies large converse with inferior writers. Such writers are too apt to make life as they would have it for themselves.

Sometimes also they must make it to suit book-sellers' rules. Having such power over their puppets, they abuse it. They can kill these puppets, change their natures suddenly, reward or punish them so easily, that it is no wonder they are led to play fantastic tricks with them. Now, if a sedulous reader of the works of such writers should form his notions of real life from them, he would occasionally meet with rude shocks when he encountered the realities of that life.

For my own part, notwithstanding all the charms of life in swiftly-written novels, I prefer real life. It is true that, in the former, every thing breaks off round, every little event tends to some great thing, everybody one meets is to exercise some great influence for good or ill upon one's fate. I take it for granted one fancies one's self the hero. Then all one's virtue is paid in ready money, or at least one can draw upon it at the end of the third volume. One leaps to remote wealth and honor by hairbreadth chances; and one's uncle in India always dies opportunely. To be sure the thought occurs, that if this novel life could be turned into real life, one might be the uncle in India and not the hero of the tale. But that is a trifling matter, for at any rate one should carry on with spirit somebody else's story. On the whole, however, as I said before, I prefer

real life, where nothing is tied up neatly, but all in odds and ends, where the doctrine of compensation enters largely, where we are often most blamed when we least deserve it, where there is no third volume to make things straight, and where many an Augustus marries many a Belinda, and, instead of being happy ever afterwards, finds that there is a growth of trials and troubles for each successive period of man's life.

In considering the subject of fiction, the responsibility of the writers thereof is a matter worth pointing out. We see clearly enough that historians are to be limited by facts and probabilities; but we are apt to make a large allowance for the fancies of writers of fiction. We must remember, however, that fiction is not falsehood. If a writer puts abstract virtues into book clothing, and sends them upon stilts into the world, he is a bad writer: if he classifies men, and attributes all virtue to one class and all vice to another, he is a false writer. Then, again, if his ideal is so poor, that he fancies man's welfare to consist in immediate happiness; if he means to paint a great man and paints only a greedy one; he is a mischievous writer: and not the less so, although by lamp-light and amongst a juvenile audience his coarse scene-painting should be thought very grand. He may be true to his own fancy, but he is false to nature.

A writer, of course, cannot get beyond his own ideal; but at least he should see that he works up to it: and if it is a poor one, he had better write histories of the utmost concentration of dulness, than amuse us with unjust and untrue imaginings.

ELLESMERE. I am glad you have kept to the obvious things about Fiction. It would have been a great nuisance to have had to follow you through intricate theories about what fiction consists in and what are its limits, and so on. Then we should have got into questions touching the laws of representation generally, and then into art, of which, between ourselves, you know very little.

DUNSFORD. Talking of representation, what do you two, who have now seen something of the world, think about representative government?

ELLESMERE. Dunsford plumps down upon us sometimes with awful questions: what do you think of all philosophy: or what is your opinion of life in general! Could you not throw in a few small questions of that kind, together with your representative one; and we might try to answer them all at once. Dunsford is only laughing at us, Milverton.

MILVERTON. No, I know what was in Dunsford's mind when he asked that question. He has had his doubts and misgivings, when he has been reading a six nights' debate, (for people in the country I dare say do read those things,) whether representative government is the most complete device the human mind could suggest for getting at wise rulers.

ELLESMERE. It is a doubt which has crossed my mind.

MILVERTON. And mine; but the doubt, if it has ever been more than mere petulance, has not had much practical weight with me. Look how the business of the world is managed. There are a few people who think out things, and a few who execute. The former are not to be secured by any device. They are gifts. The latter may be well chosen, have often been well chosen, under other forms of government than the representative one. I believe that the favorites of kings have been a superior race of men. Even a fool does not choose a fool for a favorite. He knows better than that: he must have something to lean against. But between the thinkers and the doers, (if, indeed, we ought to make such a distinction,) *what a number of useful links there are in a representative government* on account of the much larger number of people admitted into some share of government. What general cultivation must come from that, and what security? Of course every thing has its wrong side: and from this number of people let in, there comes declamation, and clap-trap, and mob-service, which is much the same thing as courtiership was in other times. But then, to make the comparison a fair one, you must take the wrong side of any other form of government that has been devised.

DUNSFORD. Well, but so much power centering in the lower house of parliament, and the getting into parliament being a thing which is not very inviting to the kind of people one would most like to see there, do you not think that the ablest men are kept away?

MILVERTON. Yes: but if you make your governing body a unit or a ten, or any small number, how is this power, unless it is Argus-eyed, and myriad-minded, and right-minded too, to choose the right men any better than they are found now. The great danger, as it appears to me, of representative government, is lest it should slide down from representative government to delegate government. In my opinion the welfare of England, in great measure, depends upon what takes place at the hustings. If, in the majority of instances, there were abject conduct there, electors and elected would be alike debased: upright, public men could not be expected to arise from such beginnings; and thoughtful persons would begin to consider whether some other form of government could not forthwith be made out.

ELLESMERE. I have a supreme disgust for the man who at the hustings has no opinion beyond, or above, the clamor round him. How such a fellow would have kissed the ground before a Pompadour, or waited for hours in a Buckingham's ante-chamber, only to catch the faintest beam of reflected light from royalty!

But I declare we have been just like schoolboys talking about forms of government, and so on.

"For forms of government let fools contest,
That which is *worst* administered is best;"

that is, representative government.

MILVERTON. I should not like either of you to fancy, from what I have been saying about representative government, that I do not see the dangers and the evils of it. In fact, it is a frequent thought with me of

what importance the House of Lords is at present, and of how much greater importance it might be made. If there were Peers for life, and official members of the House of Commons, it would, I think, meet most of your objections, Dunsford.

DUNSFORD. I suppose I am becoming a little rusty, and disposed to grumble, as I grow old : but there is a good deal in modern government which seems to me very rude and absurd. There comes a clamor, partly reasonable ; power is deaf to it, overlooks it, says there is no such thing : then great clamor ; after a time, power welcomes that, takes it to its arms, says that now it is loud it is very wise, wishes it had always been clamor itself.

ELLESMERE. How many acres do you farm, Dunsford ? How spiteful you are !

DUNSFORD. I am not thinking of corn-laws alone, as you fancy, Master Ellesmere. But to go to other things. I quite agree, Milverton, with what you were saying just now about the business of the world being carried on by few, and the thinking few being in the nature of gifts to the world, not elicited by King or Kaiser.

MILVERTON. The mill-streams that turn the clappers of the world arise in solitary places.

ELLESMERE. Not a bad metaphor, but untrue Aristotle, Bacon—

MILVERTON. Well, I believe it would be much wiser to say, that we cannot lay down rules about the highest work ; either when it is done, where it will be done, or how it can be made to be done. It is too immaterial for our measurement ; for the highest part

even of the mere business of the world is in dealing with ideas. It is very amusing to observe the misconceptions of men on these points. They call for what is outward, can understand that, can praise it. Fussiness and the forms of activity in all ages get great praise. Imagine an active, bustling, little prætor under Augustus, how he probably pointed out Horace to his sons, as a moony kind of man, whose ways were much to be avoided, and told them it was a weakness in Augustus to like such idle men about him instead of men of business.

ELLESMERE. Or fancy a bustling Glåsgow merchant of Adam Smith's day, watching him. How little would the merchant have dreamt, what a number of vessels were to be floated away by the ink in the Professor's inkstand; and what crashing of axes, and clearing of forests in distant lands, the noise of his pen upon the paper portended!

MILVERTON. It is not only the effect of the still-working man that the busy man cannot anticipate, but neither can he comprehend the present labor. If Horace had told my prætor that

"Abstinuit Venere et vino, sudavit et alsit,"

"What, to write a few lines!" would his prætorship have cried out, "Why I can live well and enjoy life; and I flatter myself no one in Rome does more business."

DUNSFORD. All of it only goes to show how little we know of each other, and how tolerant we ought to be of others' efforts.

MILVERTON. The trials that there must be every

day without any incident, that even the most minute household chronicler could set down; the labors without show or noise!

ELLESMERE. The deep things that there are which, with unthinking people, pass for shallow things, merely because they are clear as well as deep. My fable of the other day for instance—which, instead of producing any moral effect upon you two, only seemed to make you both inclined to giggle.

MILVERTON. I am so glad you reminded me of that. I, too, fired with a noble emulation, have invented a fable since we last met which I want you to hear. I assure you I did not mean to laugh at yours: it was only that it came rather unexpectedly upon me. You are not exactly the person from whom one should expect fables.

ELLESMERE. I see you want to bespeak my favor for your bantling. I do not perceive why an unexpected good thing should provoke a smile. You shall now know what a critic who has been laughed at, can do.

DUNSFORD. Now, for the fable.

MILVERTON. There was a gathering together of creatures hurtful and terrible to man, to name their king. Blight, mildew, darkness, mighty waves, fierce winds, Will-o'-the-wisps, and shadows of grim objects, told fearfully their doings and preferred their claims, none prevailing. But when evening came on, a thin mist curled itself up, derisively, amidst the assemblage, and said, "I gather round a man going to his own home over paths made by his daily footsteps: and he becomes at once helpless and tame as a child. The

lights, meant to assist him, then betray. You find him wandering, or need the aid of other Terrors to subdue him. I am, alone, confusion to him." And all the assemblage bowed before the mist, and made it king, and set it on the brow of many a mountain, where, when it is not doing evil, it may be often seen to this day.

DUNSFORD. Well, I like that fable; only I am not quite clear about the meaning.

ELLESMERE. You had no doubt about mine.

DUNSFORD. Is the mist calumny, Milverton?

ELLESMERE. No, prejudice, I am sure.

DUNSFORD. Familiarity with the things around us, obscuring knowledge?

MILVERTON. I would rather not explain. Each of you make your own fable of it.

DUNSFORD. Well, if ever I make a fable, it shall be one of the old-fashioned sort, with animals for the speakers, and a good easy moral.

ELLESMERE. Not a thing requiring the notes of seven German metaphysicians. I must go and talk a little to my friends, the trees, and see if I can get any explanation from them. It is turning out a beautiful day after all, notwithstanding my praise of its solidity.

CHAPTER VII.

WE met as usual at our old spot on the lawn for our next reading. I forget what took place before reading, except that Ellesmere was very jocose about our reading "Fiction" in-doors, and the following "November Essay," as he called it, "under a jovial sun, and with the power of getting up and walking away from each other to any extent."

ON THE ART OF LIVING WITH OTHERS.

The Iliad for war; the Odyssey for wandering; but where is the great domestic epic? Yet it is but commonplace to say, that passions may rage round a tea-table, which would not have misbecome men dashing at one another in war chariots; and evolutions of patience and temper are performed at the fireside, worthy to be compared with the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Men have worshipped some fantastic being for living alone in a wilderness; but social martyrdoms place no saints upon the calendar.

We may blind ourselves to it if we like, but the hatreds and disgusts that there are behind friendship, relationship, service, and, indeed, proximity of all kinds, is one of the darkest spots upon earth. The various relations of life, which bring people together, cannot, as we know, be perfectly fulfilled except in a state where there will, perhaps, be no occasion for any of them. It is no harm, however, to endeavor to see whether there are any methods which may make these relations in the least degree more harmonious now.

In the first place, if people are to live happily together, they must not fancy, because they are thrown together now, that all their lives have been exactly similar up to the present time, that they started exactly alike, and that they are to be for the future of the same mind. A thorough conviction of the difference of men is the great thing to be assured of in social knowledge: it is to life what Newton's law is to astronomy. Sometimes men have a knowledge of it with regard to the world in general: they do not expect the outer world to agree with them in all points, but are vexed at not being able to drive their own tastes and opinions into those they live with. Diversities distress them. They will not see that there are many forms of virtue and wisdom. Yet we might as well say, "Why all

these stars; why this difference; why not all one star?"

Many of the rules for people living together in peace, follow from the above. For instance, not to interfere unreasonably with others, not to ridicule their tastes, not to question and requestion their resolves, not to indulge in perpetual comment on their proceedings, and to delight in their having other pursuits than ours, are all based upon a thorough perception of the simple fact, that they are not we.

Another rule for living happily with others, is to avoid having stock subjects of disputation. It mostly happens, when people live much together, that they come to have certain set topics, around which, from frequent dispute, there is such a growth of angry words, mortified vanity, and the like, that the original subject of difference becomes a standing subject for quarrel; and there is a tendency in all minor disputes to drift down to it.

Again, if people wish to live well together, they must not hold too much to logic, and suppose that every thing is to be settled by sufficient reason. Dr. Johnson saw this clearly with regard to married people, when he said, "wretched would be the pair above all names of wretchedness, who should be doomed to adjust by reason, every morning, all the minute detail of a domestic day." But the application should be

much more general than he made it. There is no time for such reasonings, and nothing that is worth them. And when we recollect how two lawyers, or two politicians, can go on contending, and that there is no end of one-sided reasoning on any subject, we shall not be sure that such contention is the best mode for arriving at truth. But certainly it is not the way to arrive at good temper.

If you would be loved as a companion, avoid unnecessary criticism upon those with whom you live. The number of people who have taken out judges' patents for themselves is very large in any society. Now it would be hard for a man to live with another who was always criticising his actions, even if it were kindly and just criticism. It would be like living between the glasses of a microscope. But these self-elected judges, like their prototypes, are very apt to have the persons they judge brought before them in the guise of culprits.

One of the most provoking forms of the criticism above alluded to, is that which may be called criticism over the shoulder. "Had I been consulted," "had you listened to me," "but you always will," and such short scraps of sentences, may remind many of us of dissertations which we have suffered and inflicted, and of which we cannot call to mind any soothing effect.

Another rule is, not to let familiarity swallow up all courtesy. Many of us have a habit of saying to those with whom we live such things as we say about strangers behind their backs. There is no place, however, where real politeness is of more value than where we mostly think it would be superfluous. You may say more truth, or rather speak out more plainly, to your associates, but not less courteously, than you do to strangers.

Again, we must not expect more from the society of our friends and companions than it can give; and especially must not expect contrary things. It is somewhat arrogant to talk of travelling over other minds (mind being, for what we know, infinite): but still we become familiar with the upper views, tastes, and tempers of our associates. And it is hardly in man to estimate justly what is familiar to him. In travelling along at night, as Hazlitt says, we catch a glimpse into cheerful-looking rooms with light blazing in them, and we conclude, involuntarily, how happy the inmates must be. Yet there is Heaven and Hell in those rooms, the same Heaven and Hell that we have known in others.

There are two great classes of promoters of social happiness, cheerful people, and people who have some reticence. The latter are more secure benefits to society even than the former. They

are non-conductors of all the heats and animosities around them. To have peace in a house, or a family, or any social circle, the members of it must beware of passing on hasty and uncharitable speeches, which, the whole of the context seldom being told, is often not conveying, but creating, mischief. They must be very good people to avoid doing this; for let human nature say what it will, it likes sometimes to look on at a quarrel: and that, not altogether from ill-nature, but from a love of excitement—for the same reason that Charles the Second liked to attend the debates in the Lords, because they were “as good as a play.”

We come now to the consideration of temper, which might have been expected to be treated first. But to cut off the means and causes of bad temper, is, perhaps, of as much importance as any direct dealing with the temper itself. Besides, it is probable that in small social circles there is more suffering from unkindness than ill-temper. Anger is a thing that those who live under us suffer more from than those who live with us. But all the forms of ill-humor and sour-sensitiveness, which especially belong to equal intimacy (though indeed they are common to all) are best to be met by impassiveness. When two sensitive persons are shut up together, they go on vexing each other with a reproductive irri-

tability.* But sensitive and hard people get on well together. The supply of temper is not altogether out of the usual laws of supply and demand.

Intimate friends and relations should be careful when they go out into the world together, or admit others to their own circle, that they do not make a bad use of the knowledge which they have gained of each other by their intimacy. Nothing is more common than this, and did it not mostly proceed from mere carelessness, it would be superlatively ungenerous. You seldom need wait for the written life of a man to hear about his weaknesses, or what are supposed to be such, if you know his intimate friends or meet him in company with them.

* Madame Necker de Saussure's maxim about firmness with children has suggested the above. "Ce qui plie ne peut servir d'appui, et l'enfant veut être appuyé. Non-seulement il en a besoin, mais il le désire, mais sa tendresse la plus constante n'est qu'à ce prix. Si vous lui faites l'effet d'un autre enfant, si vous partagez ses passions, ses vacillations continuelles, si vous lui rendez tous ses mouvements en les augmentant, soit par la contrariété, soit par un excès de complaisance, il pourra se servir de vous comme d'un jouet, mais non être heureux en votre présence, il pleurera, se mutinera, et bientôt le souvenir d'un temps de désordre et d'humeur se liera avec votre idée. Vous n'avez pas été le soutien de votre enfant, vous ne l'avez pas préservé de cette fluctuation perpétuelle de la volonté, maladie des êtres faibles et livrés à une imagination vive; vous n'avez assuré ni sa paix, ni sa sagesse, ni son bonheur, pourquoi vous croirait-il sa mère?" — *L'Education Progressive*. Vol. i., p. 228.

Lastly, in conciliating those we live with, it is most surely done, not by consulting their interests, nor by giving way to their opinions, so much as by not offending their tastes. The most refined part of us lies in this region of taste, which is perhaps a result of our whole being rather than a part of our nature, and at any rate is the region of our most subtle sympathies and antipathies.

It may be said that if the great principles of Christianity were attended to, all such rules, suggestions, and observations as the above would be needless. True enough! Great principles are at the bottom of all things; but to apply them to daily life, many little rules, precautions, and insights are needed. Such things hold a middle place between real life and principles, as form does between matter and spirit: moulding the one and expressing the other.

ELLESMERE. Quite right that last part. Everybody must have known really good people, with all Christian temper, but having so little Christian prudence as to do a great deal of mischief in society.

DUNSFORD. There is one case, my dear Milverton, which I do not think you have considered: the case where people live unhappily together, not from any bad relations between each other, but because they do not agree about the treatment of others. A just person, for instance, who would bear any thing for himself or herself, must remonstrate, at the hazard of any disagreement, at injustice to others.

MILVERTON. Yes. That, however, is a case to be decided upon higher considerations than those I have been treating of. A man must do his duty in the way of preventing injustice, and take what comes of it.

ELLESMERE. For people to live happily together, the real secret is, that they should not live too much together. Of course you cannot say that: it would sound harsh, and cut short the Essay altogether.

Again, you talk about tastes and "region of subtle sympathies," and all that. I have observed that if people's vanity is pleased, they live well enough together. Offended vanity is the great separator. You hear a man (call him B) saying that he is really not himself before So-and-so: tell him that So-and-so admires him very much and is himself rather abashed before B; and B is straightway comfortable, and they get on harmoniously together, and you hear no more about subtle sympathies or antipathies.

DUNSFORD. What a low view you do take of things sometimes, Ellesmere!

MILVERTON. I should not care how low it was, but it is not fair: at least it does not contain the whole matter. In the very case he has put, there was a subtle embarrassment between B and So-and-so. Well, now, let these people, not merely meet occasionally, but be obliged to live together, without any such explanation as Ellesmere has imagined; and they will be very uncomfortable from causes that you cannot impute to vanity. It takes away much of the favor of life, to live amongst those with whom one has not any thing like one's fair value. It may not be mortified vanity

but unsatisfied sympathy, which causes this discomfort. B thinks that the other does not know him; he feels that he has no place with the other. When there is intense admiration on one side, there is hardly a care in the mind of the admiring one as to what estimation he is held in. But in ordinary cases, some clearly defined respect and acknowledgment of worth is needed on both sides. See how happy a man is in any office or service, who is acknowledged to do something well. How comfortable he is with his superiors! He has his place. It is not exactly a satisfaction of his vanity, but an acknowledgment of his useful existence, that contents him. I do not mean to say that there are not innumerable claims for acknowledgment of merit and service made by rampant vanity and egotism, which claims cannot be satisfied, ought not to be satisfied, and which, being unsatisfied, embitter people. But I think your word *Vanity* will not explain all the feelings we have been talking about.

ELLESMERE. Perhaps not.

DUNSFORD. Certainly not.

ELLESMERE. Well, at any rate, you will admit that there is a class of dreadfully humble people who make immense claims at the very time that they are explaining that they have no claims. They say they know they cannot be esteemed: they are well aware that they are not wanted, and so on; all the while making it a sort of grievance and a claim that they are not what they know themselves not to be: whereas, if they did but fall back upon their humility, and keep themselves quiet about their demerits, they would be strong then, and in their place and happy, doing what they could.

MILVERTON. It must be confessed that these people do make their humility somewhat obnoxious. Yet, after all, you allow that they know their deficiencies, and they only say, "I know I have not much to recommend me, but I wish to be loved, nevertheless."

ELLESMERE. Ah, if they only said it a few times! Besides, there is a little envy mixed up with the humility that I mean.

DUNSFORD. Travelling is a great trial of people's ability to live together.

ELLESMERE. Yes. Lavater says that you do not know a man until you have divided an inheritance with him; but I think a long journey with him will do.

MILVERTON. Well, and what is it in travelling that makes people disagree? Not direct selfishness, but injudicious management: stupid regrets, for instance, at things not being different from what they are, or from what they might have been, if "the other route" had been chosen; fellow-travellers punishing each other with each other's tastes; getting stock subjects of disputation; laughing unseasonably at each other's vexations and discomforts; and endeavoring to settle every thing by the force of sufficient reason, instead of by some authorized will, or by tossing up. Thus, in the short time of a journey, almost all modes and causes of human disagreement are brought into action.

ELLESMERE. My favorite one not being the least—overmuch of each other's company.

For my part, I think one of the greatest bores of companionship is, not merely that people wish to fit tastes and notions on you, just as they might the first pair of ready-made shoes they met with, a process

amusing enough to the bystander, but exquisitely uncomfortable to the person being ready-shod ; but that they bore you with never-ending talk about their pursuits, even when they know that you do not work in the same groove with them, and that they cannot hope to make you do so.

DUNSFORD. Nobody can accuse you of that fault, Ellesmere : I never heard you dilate much upon any thing that interested you, though I have known you have some pet subject, and to be working at it for months. But this comes of your coldness of nature.

ELLESMERE. Well, it might bear a more favorable construction. But to go back to the Essay. It only contemplates the fact of people living together as equals, if we may so say ; but in general, of course, you must add some other relationship or connection than that of merely being together.

MILVERTON. I had not overlooked that ; but there are certain general rules in the matter that may be applied to nearly all relationship, just as I have taken that one from Johnson, applied by him to married life, about not endeavoring to settle all things by reasoning, and have given it a general application which I believe it will bear.

ELLESMERE. There is one thing that I should think must often make women very unreasonable and unpleasant companions. Oh, you may both hold up your hands and eyes, but I am not married and can say what I please. Of course you put on the proper official look of astonishment ; and I will duly report it. But I was going to say that Chivalry, which has doubtless done a great deal of good, has also done a great

deal of harm. Women may talk the greatest unreason out of doors, and nobody kindly informs them that it is unreason. They do not talk much before clever men, and when they do, their words are humored and dandled as children's sayings are. Now, I should fancy—mind I do not want either of you to say that my fancy is otherwise than quite unreasonable—I should fancy that when women have to hear reason at home it must sound odd to them. The truth is, you know, we cannot pet any thing much without doing it mischief. You cannot pet the intellect, any more than the will, without injuring it. Well then, again, if you put people upon a pedestal and do a great deal of worship around them, I cannot think but the will in such cases must become rather corrupted, and that lessons of obedience must fall rather harshly—

DUNSFORD. Why, you Mahometan, you Turk of a lawyer—would you do away with all the high things of courtesy, tenderness for the weaker, and—

MILVERTON. No, I see what he means, and there is something in it. Many a woman is brought up in unreason and self-will from these causes that he has given, as many a man from other causes, but there is one great corrective that he has omitted, and which is, that all forms, fashions, and outward things, have a tendency to go down before realities when they come hand to hand together. Knowledge and judgment prevail. Governing is apt to fall to the right person in private as in public affairs.

ELLESMERE. Those who give way in public affairs, and let the men who can do a thing, do it, are so far wise that they know what is to be done, mostly. But

the very things I am arguing against are the unreason and self-will, which being constantly pampered do not appreciate reason or just sway. Besides, is there not a force in ill-humor and unreason to which you constantly see the wisest bend? You will come round to my opinion some day. I do not want though to convince you. It is no business of mine.

MILVERTON. Well, I may be wrong, but I think, when we come to consider Education, I can show you how the dangers you fear may be greatly obviated, without Chivalry being obliged to put on a wig and gown, and be wise.

DUNSFORD. Meanwhile, let us enjoy the delightful atmosphere of courtesy, unreasonable sometimes, if you like, which saves many people being put down with the best arguments in the most convincing manner, or being weighed, estimated, and given way to, so as not to spoil them.

ELLESMERE. Do not tell, either of you, what I have been saying. I shall always be poked up into some garret when I come to see you, if you do.

DUNSFORD. I think the most curious thing, as regards people living together, is the intense ignorance they sometimes are in of each other. Many years ago one or other of you said something of this kind to me, and I have often thought of it since.

MILVERTON. People fulfil a relation towards each other, and they only know each other in that relation, especially if it is badly managed by the superior one; but any way, the relationship involves some ignorance. They perform orbits round each other, each gyrating, too, upon his own axis, and there are parts of the

character of each which are never brought into view of the other.

ELLESMERE. I should carry this notion of yours, Milverton, further than you do. There is a peculiar mental relation soon constituted between associates of any kind, which confines and prevents complete knowledge on both sides. Each man, in some measure, therefore knows others only through himself. Tennyson makes Ulysses say,

"I am a part of all that I have seen;"

it might have run,

"I am a part of all that I have heard."

DUNSFORD. Ellesmere becoming metaphysical and transcendental!

ELLESMERE. Well, well, we will leave these heights, and descend in little drops of criticism. There are two or three things you might have pointed out, Milverton. Perhaps you would say that they are included in what you have said, but I think not. You talk of the mischief of much comment on each other amongst those who live together. You might have shown, I think, that in the case of near friends and relations, this comment almost deepens into interference—at least it partakes of that nature. Friends and relations should, therefore, be especially careful to avoid needless comments on each other. They do just the contrary. That is one of the reasons why they often hate one another so much.

DUNSFORD. Ellesmere!

ELLESMERE. Protest, if you like, my dear Dunsford.

Dissentient,

1. Because I wish it were not so.
2. Because I am sorry that it is.

(Signed) DUNSFORD.

MILVERTON. "Hate" is too strong a word, Ellesmere; what you say would be true enough, if you would put "are not in sympathy with."

ELLESMERE. "Have a quiet distaste for." That is the proper medium. Now, go to another matter. You have not put the case of over-managing people, who are tremendous to live with.

MILVERTON. I have spoken about "interfering unreasonably with others."

ELLESMERE. That does not quite convey what I mean. It is when the manager and the managee are both of the same mind as to the thing to be done; but the former insists, and instructs, and suggests, and foresees, till the other feels that all free agency for him is gone.

MILVERTON. It is a sad thing to consider how much of their abilities people turn to tiresomeness. You see a man who would be very agreeable if he were not so observant; another who would be charming, if he were deaf and dumb; a third delightful, if he did not vex all around him with superfluous criticism.

ELLESMERE. A hit at me that last, I suspect. But I shall go on. You have not, I think, made enough merit of independence in companionship. If I were to put into an aphorism what I mean, I should say, those

who depend wholly on companionship, are the worst companions. Or thus: those deserve companionship who can do without it. There, Mr. Aphoriser General, what do you say to that?

MILVERTON. Very good, but—

ELLESMERE. Of course a “but” to other people’s aphorisms, as if every aphorism had not buts innumerable. We critics, you know, cannot abide criticism. We do all the criticism that is needed ourselves. I wonder at the presumption sometimes of you wretched authors. But to proceed. You have not said any thing about the mischief of superfluous condolence amongst people who live together. I flatter myself that I could condole anybody out of all peace of mind.

MILVERTON. All depends upon whether condolence goes with the grain, or against the grain, of vanity. I know what you mean, however: for instance, it is a very absurd thing to fret much over other people’s courses, not considering the knowledge and discipline that there is in any course that a man may take. And it is still more absurd to be constantly showing the people fretted over, that you are fretting over them. I think a good deal of what you call superfluous condolence would come under the head of superfluous criticism.

ELLESMERE. Not altogether. In companionship, when an evil happens to one of the circle, the others should simply attempt to share and lighten it, not to expound it, or dilate on it, or make it the least darker. The person afflicted generally apprehends all the blackness sufficiently. Now, unjust abuse by the world is to me like the howling of the wind at night when one is

warm within. Bring any draught of it into one's house though, and it is not so pleasant.

DUNSFORD. Talking of companionship, do not you think there is often a peculiar feeling of home where age or infirmity is? The arm-chair of the sick, or the old, is the centre of the house. They think, perhaps, that they are unimportant; but all the household hopes and cares flow to them and from them.

MILVERTON. I quite agree with you. What you have just depicted is a beautiful sight, especially when, as you often see, the age or infirmity is not in the least selfish or exacting.

ELLESMERE. We have said a great deal about the companionship of human beings: but, upon my word, we ought to have kept a few words for our dog friends. Rollo has been lolling out his great tongue, and looking wistfully from face to face, as we each began our talk. A few minutes ago he was quite concerned, thinking I was angry with you, when I would not let you "but" my aphorism. I am not sure which of the three I should rather go out walking with now: Dunsford, Rollo, Milverton. The middle one is the safest companion. I am sure not to get out of humor with him. But I have no objection to try the whole three: only I vote for much continuity of silence, as we have had floods of discussion to-day.

DUNSFORD. Agreed!

ELLESMERE. Come, Rollo! you may bark now, as you have been silent, like a wise dog, all the morning.

CHAPTER VIII.

It was arranged, during our walk, that Ellesmere should come and stay a day or two with me, and see the neighboring cathedral, which is nearer my house than Milverton's. The visit over, I brought him back to Worth Ashton. Milverton saw us coming, walked down the hill to meet us, and after the usual greetings, began to talk to Ellesmere.

MILVERTON. So you have been to see our cathedral. I say "our," for when a cathedral is within ten miles of us, we feel a property in it, and are ready to do battle for its architectural merits.

ELLESMERE. You know I am not a man to rave about cathedrals.

MILVERTON. I certainly do not expect you to do so. To me a cathedral is mostly somewhat of a sad sight. You have Grecian monuments, if any thing so misplaced can be called Grecian, imbedded against, and cutting into, gothic pillars; the doors shut for the greater part of the day; only a little bit of the building used; beadedness predominant; the clink of money here and there; whitewash in vigor; the singing indifferent; the sermons not indifferent, but bad; and some visitors from London forming, perhaps, the most important

part of the audience: in fact the thing having become a show. We look about, thinking when piety filled every corner, and feel that the cathedral is too big for the religion which is a dried-up thing that rattles in this empty space.

ELLESMERE. This is the boldest simile I have heard a long time. My theory about cathedrals is very different, I must confess.

DUNS福德. Theory!

ELLESMERE. Well, "theory" is not the word I ought to have used—feeling then. My feeling is, how strong this creature was, this worship, how beautiful, how alluring, how complete: but there was something stronger—truth.

MILVERTON. And more beautiful?

ELLESMERE. Yes, and far more beautiful.

MILVERTON. Doubtless, to the free spirits who brought truth forward.

ELLESMERE. You are only saying this, Milverton, to try what I will say: but despite of all sentimentalities, you sympathize with any emancipation of the human mind, as I do, however much the meagreness of Protestantism may be at times distasteful to you.

MILVERTON. I did not say I was anxious to go back. Certainly not. But what says Dunsford? Let us sit down on this stile and hear what he has to say.

DUNS福德. I cannot talk with you about this subject. If I tell you of all the merits (as they seem to me) of the Church of England, you will both pick what I say to pieces, whereas if I leave you to fight on, one or the other will avail himself of those arguments on which our Church is based.

MILVERTON. Well, Dunsford, you are very candid and would make a complete diplomatist: truth-telling being now pronounced (rather late in the day) the very acmé of diplomacy. But, do you not own that our cathedrals are sadly misused?

DUNSFORD. Now, very likely, if more were made of them, you, and men who think like you, would begin to cry out "superstition;" and would instantly turn round and inveigh against the uses which you now, perhaps, imagine for cathedrals.

MILVERTON. Well, one can never answer for one's self; but at any rate, I do not see what is the meaning of building new churches in neighborhoods where there are already the noblest buildings suitable for the same purposes. Is there a church religion, and is there a cathedral religion?

ELLESMERE. You cannot make the present fill the garb of the past, Milverton, any more than you could make the past fill that of the present. Now, as regards the very thing you are about to discuss to-day, if it be the same you told us in our last walk—education: if you are only going to give us some institution for it, I dare say it may be very good for to-day, or for this generation, but it will have its sere and yellow leaf, and there will be a time when future Milvertons, in sentimental mood, will moan over it, and wish they had it and all that has grown up to take its place, at the same time. But all this is what I have often heard you say yourself in other words.

DUNSFORD. This is very hard doctrine, and not quite sound, I think. In getting the new gain, we always sacrifice something, and we should look with some

ways sacrifice something, and we should look with some pious regard to what was good in the things which are past. That good is generally one which, though it may not be equal to the present, would make a most valuable supplement to it.

MILVERTON. I would try and work in the old good thing with the new, not as patchwork though, but making the new thing grow out in such a way as to embrace the old advantage.

ELLESMERE. Well, we must have the essay before we branch out into our philosophy. Pleasure afterwards, I will not say what comes first.

EDUCATION.

The word education is so large, that one may almost as well put "world," or "the end and object of being," at the head of an essay. It should, therefore, soon be declared what such a heading does mean. The word education suggests chiefly to some minds what the State can do for those whom they consider its young people—the children of the poorer classes: to others, it presents the idea of all the training that can be got for money at schools and colleges, and which can be fairly accomplished and shut in at the age of one and twenty. This essay, however, will not be a treatise on government education, or other school and college education, but will only contain a few points in reference to the general

subject, which may escape more methodical and enlarged discussions.

In the first place, as regards government education, it must be kept in mind that there is a danger of its being too interfering and formal, of its overlying private enterprise, insisting upon too much uniformity, and injuring local connections and regards. Education, even in the poorest acceptation of the word, is a great thing; but the harmonious intercourse of different ranks, if not a greater, is a more difficult one; and we must not gain the former at any considerable sacrifice of the latter.

There is another point connected with this branch of the subject, which requires, perhaps, to be noted. If government provision is made in any case, might it not be combined with private payment in other cases, or enter in the way of rewards, so as to do good throughout each step of the social ladder? The lowest kind of school education is a power, and it is desirable that the gradations of this power should correspond to other influences which we know to be good. For instance, a hard-working man saves something to educate his children; if he can get a little better education for them than other parents of his own rank for theirs, it is an incentive and a reward to him, and the child's bringing up at home is a thing which will correspond

to this better education at school. In this there are the elements at once of stability and progress.

These views may possibly seem too refined, but at any rate they require consideration.

The next branch of the subject is the ordinary education of young persons not of the poorest classes, with which the State has hitherto had little or nothing to do. This may be considered under four heads: religious, moral, intellectual, and physical education. With regard to the first, there is not much that can be put into rules about it. Parents and tutors will naturally be anxious to impress those under their charge with the religious opinions which they themselves hold. In doing this, however, they should not omit to lay a foundation for charity towards people of other religious opinions. For this purpose, it may be requisite to give a child a notion that there are other creeds besides that in which it is brought up itself. And, especially, let it not suppose that all good and wise people are of its church or chapel. However desirable it may appear to the person teaching, that there should be such a thing as unity of religion, yet as the facts of the world are against his wishes, and as this is the world which the child is to enter, it is well that the child should in reasonable time be informed of these facts. It may be said

in reply, that history sufficiently informs children on these points. But the world of the young is the domestic circle; all beyond is fabulous, unless brought home to them by comment. The fact, therefore, of different opinions in religious matters being held by good people should sometimes be dwelt upon, instead of being shunned, if we would secure a ground-work of tolerance in a child's mind.

INTELLECTUAL EDUCATION.

In the intellectual part of education, there is the absolute knowledge to be acquired: and the ways of acquiring knowledge to be gained. The latter of course form the most important branch. They can, in some measure, be taught. Give children little to do, make much of its being accurately done. This will give accuracy. Insist upon speed in learning, with careful reference to the original powers of the pupil. This speed gives the habit of concentrating attention, one of the most valuable of mental habits. Then cultivate logic. Logic is not the hard matter that is fancied. A young person, especially after a little geometrical training, may soon be taught to perceive where a fallacy exists, and whether an argument is well sustained. It is not, however, sufficient for him to be able to examine sharply and to pull to pieces. He must learn how to

build. This is done by method. The higher branches of method cannot be taught at first. But you may begin by teaching orderliness of mind. Collecting, classifying, contrasting, and weighing facts, are some of the processes by which method is taught. When these four things, accuracy, attention, logic, and method are attained, the intellect is fairly furnished with its instruments.

As regards the things to be taught, they will vary to some extent in each age. The general course of education pursued at any particular time may not be the wisest by any means, and greatness will overleap it and neglect it, but the mass of men may go more safely and comfortably, if not with the stream, at least by the side of it.

In the choice of studies, too much deference should not be paid to the bent of a young person's mind. Excellence in one or two things which may have taken the fancy of a youth, (or which really may suit his genius,) will ill compensate for a complete ignorance of those branches of study which are very repugnant to him; and which are, therefore, not likely to be learnt when he has freedom in the choice of his studies.

Amongst the first things to be aimed at in the intellectual part of education, is variety of pursuit. A human being, like a tree, if it is

to attain to perfect symmetry, must have light and air given to it from all quarters. This may be done without making men superficial. Scientific method may be acquired without many sciences being learnt. But one or two great branches of science must be accurately known. So, too, the choice works of antiquity may be thoroughly appreciated without extensive reading. And passing on from mere learning of any kind, a variety of pursuits, even in what may be called accomplishments, is eminently serviceable. Much may be said of the advantage of keeping a man to few pursuits, and of the great things done thereby in the making of pins and needles. But in this matter, we are not thinking of the things that are to be done, but of the persons who are to do them. Not wealth, but men. A number of one-sided men may make a great nation, though I much incline to doubt that; but such a nation will not contain a number of great men.

The very advantage that flows from division of labor, and the probable consequence that men's future bread-getting pursuits will be more and more subdivided, and, therefore, limited, make it the more necessary that a man should begin life with a broad basis of interest in many things which may cultivate his faculties and develop his nature. This multifariousness of pursuit is needed also in the education of the

poor. Civilization has made it easy for a man to brutalize himself: how is this to be counteracted but by endowing him with many pursuits which may distract him from vice? It is not that kind of education which leads to no employment in after-life, that will do battle with vice. But when education enlarges the field of life-long good pursuits, it becomes formidable to the soul's worst enemies.

MORAL EDUCATION.

In considering moral education, we must recollect that there are three agents in this matter—the child himself, the influence of his grown-up friends, and that of his contemporaries. All that his grown-up friends tell him in the way of experience, goes for very little, except in palpable matters. They talk of abstractions which he cannot comprehend: and “the Arabian Nights” is a truer world to him than that they talk of. Still, though they cannot furnish experience, they can give motives. Indeed, in their daily intercourse with the child, they are always doing so. For instance, truth, courage, and kindness, are the great moral qualities to be instilled. Take courage, in its highest form—moral courage. If a child perpetually hear such phrases (and especially if they are applied to his own conduct) as “what people will say,” “how they will

look at you," "what they will think," and the like, it tends to destroy all just self-reliance in that child's mind, and to set up instead an exaggerated notion of public opinion, the greatest tyrant of these times. People can see this in such an obvious thing as animal courage. They will avoid over-cautioning children against physical dangers, knowing that the danger they talk much about will become a bugbear to the child, which it may never get rid of. But a similar peril lurks in the application of moral motives. Truth, courage, and kindness are likely to be learnt, or not, by children, according as they hear and receive encouragement in the direction of these pre-eminent qualities. When attempt is made to frighten a child with these worldly maxims, "What will be said of you?" "Are you like such a one?" and such things, it is meant to draw him under the rule of grown-up respectability. The last thing thought of by the parent or teacher is, that such maxims will bring the child under the especial guidance of the most unscrupulous of his contemporaries. They will use ridicule, and appeal to their little world, which will be his world, and ask, "what will be said" of him. There should be some stuff in him of his own to meet these awful generalities.



EDUCATION.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

The physical education of children is a very simple matter, too simple to be much attended to, without great perseverance and resolution on the part of those who care for the children. It consists, as we all know, in good air, simple diet, sufficient exercise, and judicious clothing. The first requisite is the most important, and by far the most frequently neglected. This neglect is not so unreasonable as it seems. It arises from pure ignorance. If the mass of mankind knew what scientific men know, about the functions of the air, they would be as careful in getting a good supply of it as of their other food. All the people that ever were supposed to die of poison in the middle ages, and that means nearly everybody whose death was worth speculating about, are not so many as those who die poisoned by bad air in the course of any given year. Even a slightly noxious thing, which is constant, affecting us every moment of the day, must have a considerable influence: but the air we breathe is not a thing that slightly affects us, but one of the most important elements of life. Moreover, children are the most affected by impurity of air. We need not weary ourselves with much statistics to ascertain this. One or two broad facts will assure us of it. In Nottingham there is a

district called Byron Ward, "the densest and worst-conditioned quarter of the town." A table has been made by Mr. Hawksley of the mortality of equal populations in different parts of the town:—

"On comparing the diagram No. 1, relating to Park Ward, with the diagram No. 7, relating to Byron Ward, it will be seen that the heavier pressure of the causes of mortality occasions in the latter district such an undue destruction of early life, that towards one hundred deaths, however occurring, Byron Ward contributes fifty per cent. more of children under five years of age than the Park Ward, for the former sends sixty such children to an early grave, while the latter sends only forty."*

Mr. Hawksley, the former witness alluded to, goes on to say,—

"It has been long known that, with increase of years, up to that period of life which has been denominated the second childhood, the human constitution becomes gradually more resistful, and, as it were, slowly hardened against the repeated attacks of those more acute disorders incident to an inferior degree of sanatory civilization, by which large portions of an infant population are continually overcome and rapidly swept away. From the operation of these and other more

* See Health of Towns Report, Vol. 1., p. 336. A similar result may be deduced from a similar table made by the Rev. J. Clay of Preston. See the same Report and vol., p. 175.

extraneous influences of a disturbing character, an infant population is almost entirely exempted; and on this account, it is considered, that an infant population constitutes as it were a delicate barometer, from which we may derive more early and more certain indications of the presence and comparative force of *local* causes of mortality and disease, than can be obtained from the more general methods of investigation usually pursued."

The above evidence is confirmed by Mr. Toynbee :—

"The disease of hydrocephalus, or water in the brain, so fatal to children, I find associated with symptoms of scrofula, and arising in abundance in these close rooms. I believe water in the brain, in the class of patients whom I visit, to be almost wholly a scrofulous affection."*

But supposing people aware of the necessity for good air, and therefore for ventilation, what is to be done? In houses in great towns certainly, and I should say in all houses, some of the care and expense that are devoted to ornamental work, which when done is often a care, a trouble, an eyesore, and a mischief, should be given to modes of ventilation,† sound building, abundant access of light, largeness of sleeping

* See Health of Towns Report, Vol. i., p. 75.

† See Dr Arnott's letter. Claims of Labor, p. 282.

rooms, and such useful things. Less ormolu and tinsel of all kinds in the drawing-rooms, and sweeter air in the regions above. Similar things may be done for and by the poor.* And it need hardly be said that those people who care for their children, if of any enlightenment at all, will care greatly for the sanatory condition of their neighborhood generally. At present you will find at many a rich man's door† a nuisance which is poisoning the atmosphere that his children are to breathe, but which he could entirely cure for less than one day's ordinary expenses.

I am afraid that ventilation is very little attended to in school-rooms either for rich or poor. Now it may be deliberately said, that there is very little learnt in any school-room that can compensate for the mischief of its being learnt in the midst of impure air. This is a thing which parents must look to; for the grown-up people in the school-rooms, though suffering grievously themselves from insufficient ventila-

* By zinc ventilators, for instance, in the windows and openings into the flues at the top of the rooms. See *Health of Towns Report*, 1844, Vol. i., pp. 76, 77. Mr. Coulhart's evidence, *ibid.*, pp. 307, 308.

† There are several thousand gratings to sewers and drains which are utterly useless on account of their position, and positively injurious from their emanations. Mr. Guthrie's evidence, *ibid.*, Vol. ii., p. 255.

tion, will be unobservant of it.* In every system of government inspection, ventilation must occupy a prominent part.

The advantage of simple food for children is a thing that people have found out. And as regards exercise, children happily make great efforts to provide a sufficiency of this for themselves. In clothing, the folly and conformity of grown-up people enter again. Loving mothers, in various parts of the world, carry about at present, I believe, and certainly in times past carried, their little children strapped to a board, with nearly as little power of motion as the board itself. Could we get the returns of stunted miserable beings, or of deaths, from this cause, they would be something portentous. Less in degree, but not less fatally absurd in principle, are many of the strappings, bandages, and incipient stays for children amongst us. They are all mischievous. Allow children at any rate some freedom of limbs, some opportunity of being graceful and healthy. Give Nature—dear, motherly, much-abused Nature—some chance of forming these little ones according to the beneficent intentions

* Mr. Wood states that the masters and mistresses were generally ignorant of the depressing and unhealthy effects of the atmosphere which surround them; and he mentions the case of the mistress of a dame-school who replied, when he pointed out this to her, that "the children thrived best in dirt!" Health of Towns Report, Vol. i., pp. 146, 147.

of Providence, and not according to the angular designs of ill-educated men and women.

I do not say that attention to the above matters of good air, judicious clothing, and freedom from bandages, will absolutely secure health, because these very things may have been so ill attended to in the parents or in the parental stock, as to have introduced special maladies: but at least they are the most important objects to be minded now; and, perhaps, the more to be minded in the children of those who have suffered most from neglect in these particulars.

When we are considering the health of children, it is imperative not to omit the importance of keeping their brains fallow, as it were, for several of the first years of their existence. The mischief perpetrated by a contrary course in the shape of bad health, peevish temper, and developed vanity, is incalculable. It would not be just to attribute this altogether to the vanity of parents: they are influenced by a natural fear lest their children should not have all the advantages of other children. Some infant prodigy which is a standard of mischief throughout its neighborhood, misleads them. But parents may be assured that this early work is not by any means all gain, even in the way of work. I suspect it is a loss; and that children who begin their education late, as it would be called,

will rapidly overtake those who have been in harness long before them. And what advantage can it be that the child knows more at six years old than its compeers, especially if this is to be gained by a sacrifice of health which may never be regained? There may be some excuse for this early book-work in the case of those children who are to live by manual labor. It is worth while perhaps to run the risk of some physical injury to them, having only their early years in which we can teach them book-knowledge. The chance of mischief, too, will be less, being more likely to be counteracted by their after-life. But for a child who is to be at book-work for the first twenty-one years of his life, what folly it is to exhaust in the least the mental energy which, after all, is its surest implement.

A similar course of argument applies to taking children early to church, and to over-developing their minds in any way. There is no knowing, moreover, the disgust and weariness that may grow up in the minds of young persons from their attention being prematurely claimed. We are now, however, looking at early study as a matter of health; and we may certainly put it down in the same class with impure air, stimulating diet, unnecessary bandages, and other manifest physical disadvantages. Civilized life, as it advances, does not seem to have so much

repose in it, that we need begin early in exciting the mind, for fear of the man being too lethargical hereafter.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

It seems needful that something should be said specially about the education of women. As regards their intellects, they have been unkindly treated—too much flattered, too little respected. They are shut up in a world of conventionalities, and naturally believe that to be the only world. The theory of their education seems to be, that they should not be made companions to men, and some would say, they certainly are not. These critics, however, in the high imaginations they justly form of what women's society might be to men, forget, perhaps, how excellent a thing it is already. Still, the criticism is not by any means wholly unjust. It appears rather as if there had been a falling off since the olden times in the education of women. A writer of modern days, arguing on the other side, has said, that though we may talk of the Latin and Greek of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth, yet we are to consider that that was the only learning of the time, and that many a modern lady may be far better instructed, although she know nothing of Latin and Greek. Certain it is, she may know more facts, have

read more books; but this does not assure us that she may not be less conversable, less companionable. Wherein does the cultivated and thoughtful man differ from the common man? In the method of his discourse. His questions upon a subject in which he is ignorant are full of interest. His talk has a groundwork of reason. This rationality must not be supposed to be dulness. Folly is dull. Now, would women be less charming if they had more power, or at least, more appreciation, of reasoning? Their flatterers tell them that their intuition is such, that they need not man's slow processes of thought. One would be very sorry to have a grave question of law that concerned one's self decided upon by intuitive judges, or a question of fact by intuitive jurymen. And so of all human things that have to be canvassed, it is better, and more amusing too, that they should be discussed according to reason. Moreover, the exercise of the reasoning faculties gives much of the pleasure which there is in solid acquirements; so that the obvious facts in life and history will hardly be acquired by those who are not in the habit of reasoning upon them. Hence it comes, that women have less interest in great topics, and less knowledge of them, than they might have.

Again, if either sex requires logical education, it is theirs. The sharp practice of the world

drives some logic into the most vague of men ; women are not so schooled.

But, supposing the deficiency we have been considering to be admitted, how is it to be remedied? Women's education must be made such as to insure some accuracy and reasoning. This may be done with any subject of education, and is done with men, whatever they learn, because they are expected to produce and use their acquirements. But the greatest object of intellectual education, the improvement of the mental powers, is as needful for one sex as the other, and requires the same means in both sexes. The same accuracy, attention, logic, and method, that are attempted in the education of men, should be aimed at in that of women. This will never be sufficiently attended to, as there are no immediate and obvious fruits from it. And, therefore, it is probable, from the different career of women to that of men, that whatever women study will not be studied with the same method and earnestness as it would be by men, what a peculiar advantage there is in any study for them, in which no proficiency whatever can be made without some use of most of the qualities we desire for them. Geometry, for instance, is such a study. It may appear pedantic, but I must confess that Euclid seems to me a book for the young of both sexes. The severe rules upon which the acquisition of the dead languages

is built, would of course be a great means for attaining the logical habits in question. But Latin and Greek is a deeper pedantry for women than geometry, and much less desirable on many accounts; and geometry would, perhaps, suffice to teach them what reasoning is. I dare say, too, there are accomplishments which might be taught scientifically; and so even the prejudice against the manifest study of science by women be conciliated. But the appreciation of reasoning must be got somehow.

It is a narrow view of things to suppose that a just cultivation of women's mental powers will take them out of their sphere: it will only enlarge that sphere. The most cultivated women perform their common duties best. They see more in those duties. They can do more. Lady Jane Grey would, I dare say, have bound up a wound, or managed a household, with any unlearned woman of her day. Queen Elizabeth did manage a kingdom; and we find no pedantry in her way of doing it.

People who advocate a better training for women must not, necessarily, be supposed to imagine that men and women are by education to be made alike, and are intended to fulfil most of the same offices. There seems reason for thinking that a boundary line exists between the intellects of men and women which, perhaps, cannot be passed over from either side. But, at

any rate, taking the whole nature of both sexes, and the inevitable circumstances which cause them to differ, there must be such a difference between men and women, that the same intellectual training applied to both would produce most dissimilar results. It has not, however, been proposed in these pages to adopt the same training: and would have been still less likely to be proposed, if it could be shown that such training would tend to make men and women unpleasantly similar to each other. The utmost that has been thought of here, is to make more of women's faculties, not by any means to translate them into men's—if such a thing were possible, which, we may venture to say, is not. There are some things that are good for all trees,—light, air, room,—but no one expects by affording some similar advantages of this kind to an oak and a beech, to find them assimilate, though by such means the best of each may be produced.

Moreover, it should be recollected that the purpose of education is not always to foster natural gifts, but sometimes to bring out faculties that might otherwise remain dormant; and especially so far as to make the persons educated cognizant of excellence in those faculties in others. A certain tact and refinement belong to women, in which they have little to learn from the first: men, too, who attain some portion of

these qualities, are greatly the better for them, and I should imagine not less acceptable on that account to women. So, on the other side, there may be an intellectual cultivation for women, which may seem a little against the grain, which would not, however, injure any of their peculiar gifts, would in fact carry those gifts to the highest, and would increase withal, both to men and women, the pleasure of each other's society.

There is a branch of general education which is not thought at all necessary for women; as regards which, indeed, it is well if they are not brought up to cultivate the opposite. Women are not taught to be courageous. Indeed to some persons courage may seem as unnecessary for women as Latin and Greek. Yet there are few things that would tend to make women happier in themselves, and more acceptable to those with whom they live, than courage. There are many women of the present day, sensible women in other things, whose panic terrors are a frequent source of discomfort to themselves and those around them. Now, it is a great mistake to imagine that hardness must go with courage; and that the bloom of gentleness and sympathy must all be rubbed off by that vigor of mind which gives presence of mind, enables a person to be useful in peril, and makes the desire to assist overcome that sickliness of sensibility which can only contemplate distress and

difficulty. So far from courage being unfeminine, there is a peculiar grace and dignity in those beings who have little active power of attack or defence, passing through danger with a moral courage which is equal to that of the strongest. We see this in great things. We perfectly appreciate the sweet and noble dignity of an Anna Bullen, a Mary Queen of Scots, or a Marie Antoinette. We see that it is grand for these delicately-bred, high-nurtured, helpless personages to meet Death with a silence and a confidence like his own. But there would be a similar dignity in women's bearing small terrors with fortitude. There is no beauty in fear. It is a mean, ugly, dishevelled creature. No statue can be made of it that a woman would wish to see herself like.

Women are pre-eminent in steady endurance of tiresome suffering: they need not be far behind men in a becoming courage to meet that which is sudden and sharp. The dangers and the troubles, too, which we may venture to say they now start at unreasonably, are many of them mere creatures of the imagination—such as, in their way, disturb high-mettled animals brought up to see too little, and therefore frightened at any leaf blown across the road.

We may be quite sure that without losing any of the most delicate and refined of feminine graces, women may be taught not to give way

to unreasonable fears, which should belong no more to the fragile than to the robust.

There is no doubt that courage may in some measure be taught. We agree that the lower kinds of courage are matter of habit, therefore of teaching: and the same thing holds good to some extent of all courage. Courage is as contagious as fear. The saying is, that the brave are the sons and daughters of the brave; but we might as truly say, that they must be brought up by the brave. The great novelist, when he wants to show a coward descended from a valorous race, does well to take him from his clan, and bring him up in an unwarlike home.* Indeed, the heroic example of other days is, in great part, the source of the courage of each generation: and men walk up composedly to the most perilous enterprises, beckoned onwards by the shades of the brave that were. In civil courage, moral courage, or courage shown in the minute circumstances of every-day life, the same law is true. Courage may be taught by precept, enforced by example, and is good to be taught to men, women, and children.

EDUCATION TO HAPPINESS.

It is a curious phenomenon in human affairs, that some of those matters in which education

* See "Fair Maid of Perth."

is most potent, should have been amongst the least thought of as branches of it. What you teach a boy of Latin and Greek may be good ; but these things are with him but a little time of each day in his after-life. What you teach him of direct moral precepts may be very good seed : it may grow up, especially if it have sufficient moisture from experience ; but then again, a man is, happily, not doing obvious right or wrong all day long. What you teach him of any bread-getting art, may be of some import to him, as to the quantity and quality of bread he will get ; but he is not always with his art. With himself he is always. How important, then, it is, whether you have given him a happy, or a morbid, turn of mind ; whether the current of his life is a clear, wholesome stream, or bitter as Marah ! The education to happiness is a possible thing—not to a happiness supposed to rest upon enjoyments of any kind, but to one built upon content and resignation. This is the best part of philosophy. This enters into the “wisdom” spoken of in the Scriptures. Now, it can be taught. The converse is taught every day, and all day long.

To take an example. A sensitive disposition may descend to a child ; but it is also very commonly increased, and often created. Captiousness, sensitiveness, and a Martha-like care for the things of this world, are often the direct

fruits of education. All these faults of the character, and they are amongst the greatest, may be summed up in a disproportionate care for little things. This is rather a growing evil. The painful neatness and exactness of modern life foster it. Long peace favors it. Trifles become more important, great evils being kept away. And so, the tide of small wishes and requirements gains upon us fully as fast as we can get out of its way by our improved means of satisfying them. Now the unwholesome concern that many parents and governors manifest as to small things, must have a great influence on the governed. You hear a child reprimanded about a point of dress, or some trivial thing, as if it had committed a treachery. The criticisms, too, which it hears upon others are often of the same kind. Small omissions, small commissions, false shame, little stumbling-blocks of offence, trifling grievances of the kind that Dr. Johnson, who had known hunger, stormed at Mrs. Thrale for talking about, are made much of; general dissatisfaction is expressed that things are not complete, and that every thing in life is not turned out as neat as a Long-Acre carriage; commands are expected to be fulfilled by agents, upon very rapid and incomplete orders, exactly to the mind of the person ordering;—these ways, to which children are very attentive, teach them in their turn to be querulous, sensitive, and full of small

cares and wishes. And when you have made a child like this, can you make a world for him that will satisfy him? Tax your civilization to the uttermost: a punctilious, tiresome disposition expects more. Indeed nature, with her vague and flowing ways, cannot at all fit in with a right-angled person. Besides, there are other precise angular creatures, and these sharp-edged persons wound each other terribly. Of all the things which you can teach people, after teaching them to trust in God, the most important is, to put out of their hearts any expectation of perfection, according to their notions, in this world. This expectation is at the bottom of a great deal of the wordliness we hear so much reprehended, and necessarily gives to little things a most irrational importance.

Observe the effect of this disproportionate care for little things in the disputes of men. A man who does so care, has a garment embroidered with hooks, which catches at every thing that passes by. He finds many more causes of offence than other men: and each offence is a more bitter thing to him than to others. He does not expect to be offended. Poor man! He goes through life wondering that he is the subject of general attack, and that the world is so quarrelsome.

The result of a bad education in developing undue care for trifles, may be seen in its effect

on domestic government and government in general. If those in power have this fault, they will make the persons under them miserable by petty, constant blame; or they will make them indifferent to all blame. If this fault is in the governed, they will captiously object to all the ways and plans of their superiors, not knowing the difficulty of doing any thing; they will expect miracles of attention, justice, and temper, which the rough-hewed ways of men do not admit of; and they will repine and tease the life out of those in authority. Sometimes, both superiors and inferiors, governors and governed, have this fault. This must often happen in a family, and is a fearful punishment to the elders of it. Scarcely any goodness of disposition and what are called great qualities, can make such difficult materials work well together.

But I end with somewhat of the same argument as I began with; namely, that as a man lives more with himself than with art, science, or even with his fellows, a wise teacher having before him the intent to make a happy minded man of his pupil, will try to lay a groundwork of divine contentment in him. If he cannot make him easily pleased, he will, at least, try and prevent him from being easily disconcerted. Why, even the self-conceit that makes people indifferent to small things, wrapping them in an atmosphere of self-satisfaction, is welcome in a man

compared with that querulousness which makes him an enemy to all around.. But most commendable is that easiness of mind, which is easy because it is tolerant, because it does not look to have every thing its own way, because it expects any thing but smooth usage in its course here, because it has resolved to manufacture as few miseries out of small evils as can be.

Most of us know what it is to vex our minds because we cannot recall some name, or trivial thing which has escaped our memory for the moment. But then we think, how foolish this is, what little concern it is to us. We are right in that: yet any defect of memory is a great concern compared to many of the trifling niceties, comforts, offences, and rectangularities which, perhaps, we do not think it an ignoble use of heart and time to waste ourselves upon. It would be well enough to entertain the rabble of small troubles and offences, if we could lay them aside with the delightful facility of children, who, after an agony of tears, are soon found laughing or asleep. But the chagrin and vexation of grown-up people are grown up too; and, however childish in their origin, are not to be laughed, or danced, or slept away in child-like simple-heartedness.

We must not imagine that too much stress can well be laid upon the importance of an education to contentment, for it comes under

the head of those things which are not adjuncts, or acquisitions, for a man ; but which form the texture of his being. What a man has learnt is of importance, but what he is, what he can do, what he will become, are more significant things. Finally, it may be remarked, that, to make education a great work, we must have the educators great ; that book learning is mainly good as it gives us a chance of coming into the company of greater and better minds than the average of men around us ; and that individual greatness and goodness are the things to be aimed at rather than the successful cultivation of those talents which go to form some eminent membership of society. Each man is a drama in himself : has to play all the parts in it ; is to be king and rebel, successful and vanquished, free and slave ; and needs a bringing-up fit for the universal creature that he is.

ELLESMERE. You have been unexpectedly merciful to us. The moment I heard the head of the Essay given out, there flitted before my frightened mind volumes of reports, Battersea schools, Bell, Wilderspin, normal farms, National Society, British Schools, interminable questions about how religion might be separated altogether from secular education, or so much religion taught as all religious sects could agree in. These are all very good things and people to discuss, I dare say ; but, to tell the truth, the whole subject sits

heavy on my soul. I meet a man of inexhaustible dulness : and he talks to me for three hours about some great subject, this very one of education for instance, till I sit entranced by stupidity—thinking the while, “and this is what we are to become by education—to be like you.” Then I see a man like D——, a judicious, reasonable, conversable being, knowing how to be silent too—a man to go through a campaign with ; and I find he cannot read or write.

MILVERTON. This sort of contrast is just the thing to strike you, Ellesmere : and yet you know as well as any of us, that to bring forward such contrasts by way of depreciating education would be most unreasonable. There are three things that go to make a man—the education that most people mean by education—then the education that goes deeper, the education of the soul—and thirdly, a man’s gift of nature. I agree with all you say about D—— ; he never says a foolish thing, and does a great many judicious ones. But look what a clever face he has. There are gifts of nature for you. Then, again, although he cannot read or write, he may have been most judiciously brought up in other respects. He may have had two, therefore, out of the three elements of education. What such instances would show, I believe, if narrowly looked into, is the immense importance of the education of heart and temper.

I feel with you in some measure about the dulness of the subject of education. But then it extends to all things of the institution kind. Men must have a great deal of pedantry, routine, and folly of all sorts, in any large matter they undertake. I had had this feeling

for a long time (you know the way in which you have a thing in your mind); well, I came upon a passage of Emerson's which I will try to quote, and then I knew what it was that I had felt.

"We are full of mechanical actions. We must needs intermeddle and have things in our own way, until the sacrifices and virtues of society are odious. Love should make joy; but our benevolence is unhappy. Our Sunday-schools, and churches, and pauper societies, are yokes to the neck. We pain ourselves to please nobody. There are natural ways of arriving at the same ends at which these aim, but do not arrive. Why should all virtue work in one way and the same way?" * * * *
 "And why drag this dead weight of a Sunday-school over the whole of Christendom? It is natural and beautiful that childhood should inquire, and maturity should teach; but it is time enough to answer questions when they are asked. Do not shut up the young people against their will in a pew, and force the children to ask them questions for an hour against their will."

Now, without agreeing with him in all points, we may sympathize with him.

ELLESMERE. I agree with him.

DUNSFORD. I knew you would. You love an extreme.

MILVERTON. But look now. It is well to say, "it is natural and beautiful that the young should ask, and the old should teach;" but then the old should be capable of teaching, which is not the case we have to deal with. Institutions are often only to meet individual failings. Let there be more instructed elders and the "dead weight" of Sunday-schools would be less needed.

I think the result of our thoughts would be, that there should be as much life, joy, and nature put into

teaching as can be; but I, for one, am not prepared to say that the most mechanical process is not better than none.

ELLESMERE. Well, you have now shut up the subject, according to your fashion, in a rounded sentence; and you think after that there is nothing more to be said. But I say it goes to my heart—

DUNSFORD. What is that?

ELLESMERE. To my heart to see the unmerciful quantity of instruction that little children go through on a Sunday. I suppose I am a very wicked man, but I know how wearied I should have been at any time of my life, if so much virtuous precept and good doctrine had been poured into me.

MILVERTON. Well, I will not fight certainly for any thing that is to make Sunday a wearisome day for children. Indeed, what I meant by putting more joy and life into teaching was, that in such a thing as this Sunday schooling, for instance, a judicious man, far from being anxious to get a certain quantity of routine done about it, would do with the least, would endeavor to connect it with something interesting: would, in a word, love children and not Sunday-schools.

ELLESMERE. Ah, we will have no more about Sunday-schools. I know we all agree in reality, although Dunsford has been looking very grave and has not said a word. I wanted to tell you that I think you are quite right, Milverton, in saying a good deal about multifariousness of pursuit. You see a wretch of a pedant who knows all about tetrameters, or statutes of uses, but who, as you hinted an Essay or two ago, can hardly answer his child a question as they walk about

the garden together. The man has never given a good thought, or look, to nature. Well then, again, what a stupid thing it is, that we are not all taught music! Why learn the language of many portions of mankind, and leave the universal language of the feelings, as you would call it, unlearnt?

MILVERTON. I quite agree with you; but I thought you always set your face, or rather your ears, against music.

DUNSFORD. So did I.

ELLESMERE. I should like to know all about it. It is not to my mind that a cultivated man should be quite thrown out by any topic of conversation, or that there should be any form of human endeavor, or accomplishment, which he has no conception of.

DUNSFORD. I liked what you said, Milverton, about the philosophy of making light of little things, and the way of looking at life that may thus be given to those we educate. I rather doubted at first though, whether you were not going to assign too much power to education in the modification of temper. But, certainly, the mode of looking at the daily events of life, little or great, and the consequent habits of captiousness, or magnanimity, are just the matters which the young especially imitate their elders in.

MILVERTON. You see, the very worst kind of tempers are established upon the fretting care for trifles that I want to make war upon in the essay. A man is choleric. Well, it is a very bad thing; it tends to frighten those about him into falseness. He has outrageous bursts of temper. He is humble for days afterwards. His dependents rather like him after all.

They know that "his bark is worse than his bite." Then there is your gloomy man—often a man who punishes himself most—perhaps a large-hearted, humorous, but sad man—at the same time liveable with. He does not care for trifles. But it is your acid-sensitive (I must join words like Mirabeau's Grandison-Cromwell, to get what I mean) and your cold querulous people that need to have angels to live with them. Now education has often had a great deal to do with the making of these choice tempers. They are somewhat artificial productions. And they are the worst.

DUNSFORD. You know a saying attributed to the Bishop of —— about temper. No? Somebody, I suppose, was excusing something on the score of temper, to which the bishop replied, "Temper is nine-tenths of Christianity."

MILVERTON. There is an appearance we see in nature, not far from here by the way, that has often put me in mind of the effect of temper upon men. It is in the lowlands near the sea, where, when the tide is not up, (the man out of temper,) there is a slimy, patchy, diseased-looking surface of mud and sick seaweed. You pass by in a few hours, there is a beautiful lake, water up to the green grass (the man in temper again) and the whole landscape brilliant with reflected light.

ELLESMERE. And to complete the likeness, the good temper and the full tide last about the same time—with some men at least. It is so like you, Milverton, to have that simile in your mind. There is nothing you see in nature, but you must instantly find a parallel for it in man. Sermons in stones you will not

see, else I am sure you might. Here is a good hard flint for you to see your next essay in.

MILVERTON. It will do very well, as my next will be on the subject of population.

ELLESMERE. What day are we to have it? I think I have a particular engagement for that day.

MILVERTON. I must come upon you unawares.

ELLESMERE. After the essay you certainly might. Let us decamp now and do something great in the way of education, teach Rollo, though he is but a short-haired dog, to go into the water. That will be a feat.

CHAPTER IX.

ELLESMERE succeeded in persuading Rollo to go into the water, which proved more, he said, than the whole of Milverton's essay, how much might be done by judicious education. Before leaving my friends, I promised to come over again to Worth Ashton in a day or two, to hear another essay. I came early and found them reading their letters.

"You remember Annesleigh at college," said Milverton, "do you not, Dunsford?"

DUNSFORD. Yes.

MILVERTON. Here is a long letter from him. He is evidently vexed at the newspaper articles about his conduct in the matter of —, and writes to tell me that he is totally misrepresented.

DUNSFORD. Why does not he explain this publicly?

MILVERTON. Yes, you naturally think so at first, but such a mode of proceeding would never do for a man in office, and rarely, perhaps, for any man. At least so the most judicious people seem to think. I have known a man in office bear patiently, without attempting any answer, a serious charge which a few lines would have entirely answered, indeed turned the

other way. But then he thought, I imagine, that if you once begin answering, there is no end to it, and also, which is more important, that the public journals were not a tribunal which he was called to appear before. He had his official superiors.

DUNSFORD. It should be widely known and acknowledged then, that silence does not give consent in these cases.

MILVERTON. It is known, though not, perhaps, sufficiently.

DUNSFORD. What a fearful power this anonymous journalism is!

MILVERTON. There is a great deal certainly that is mischievous in it; but take it altogether, it is a wonderful product of civilization—morally too. Even as regards those qualities which would in general, to use a phrase of Bacon's, "be noted as deficiencies" in the press, in courtesy and forbearance for example, it makes a much better figure than might have been expected; as any one would testify, I suspect, who had observed, or himself experienced, the temptations incident to writing on short notice, without much opportunity of after-thought or correction, upon subjects about which he had already expressed an opinion.

DUNSFORD. Is the anonymousness absolutely necessary?

MILVERTON. I have often thought whether it is. If the anonymousness were taken away, the press would lose much of its power, but then why should it not lose a portion of its power, if that portion is only built upon some delusion?

ELLESMERE. It is a question of expediency. As

government of all kinds becomes better managed, there is less necessity for protection for the press. It must be recollected, however, that this anonymousness (to coin a word) may not only be useful to protect us from any abuse of power; but that, at least, it takes away that temptation to discuss things in an insufficient manner, which arises from personal fear of giving offence. Then, again, there is an advantage in considering arguments without reference to persons. If well-known authors wrote for the press and gave their signatures, we should often pass by the arguments unfairly, saying, "Oh, it is only so-and-so: that is the way he always looks at things," without seeing whether it is the right way for the occasion in question.

MILVERTON. But take the other side, Ellesmere. What national dislikes are fostered by newspaper articles, and—

ELLESMERE. Articles in Reviews, and by books.

MILVERTON. Yes, but somehow or other, people imagine that newspapers speak the opinion of a much greater number of people—

ELLESMERE. Do not let us talk any more about it. We may become wise enough and well-managed enough to do without this anonymousness: we may not. How it would astound an ardent Whig or Radical of the last generation, if he could hear such a sentiment as this—as a toast, we will say—"The Press: and may we become so civilized, as to be able to take away some of its liberty."

MILVERTON. It may be put another way. May it become so civilized, that we shall not want to take away any of its liberty. But I see you are tired of

this subject: shall we go on the lawn and have our essay?

We assented, and Milverton read the following:—

UNREASONABLE CLAIMS IN SOCIAL AFFECTIONS AND RELATIONS.

We are all apt to magnify the importance of whatever we are thinking about: which is not to be wondered at; for every thing human has an outlet into infinity, which we come to perceive on considering it. But with a knowledge of this tendency, I still venture to say that, of all that concerns mankind, this subject has, perhaps, been the least treated of in regard to its significance. For once that unreasonable expectations of gratitude have been reprov'd, ingratitude has been denounced a thousand times: and the same may be said of inconstancy, unkindness in friendship, neglected merit, and the like.

To begin with ingratitude. Human beings seldom have the demands upon each other which they imagine. And for what they have done they frequently ask an impossible return. Moreover, when people really have done others a service, the persons benefited often do not understand it. Could they have understood it, the benefactor, perhaps, would not have had to per-

form it. You cannot expect gratitude from them in proportion to your enlightenment. Then, again, where the service is a palpable one, thoroughly understood, we often require that the gratitude for it should bear down all the rest of the man's character. The dog is the very emblem of faithfulness: yet I believe, it is found that he will sometimes like the person who takes him out and amuses him, more than the person who feeds him. So, amongst bipeds, the most solid service must sometimes give way to the claims of congeniality. Human creatures are, happily, not to be swayed by self-interest alone: they are many-sided creatures; there are numberless modes of attaching their affections. Not only like likes like, but unlike likes unlike.

To give an instance which must often occur. Two persons, both of feeble will, act together: one as superior, the other as inferior. The superior is very kind: the inferior is grateful. Circumstances occur to break this relation. The inferior comes under a superior of strong will, who is not, however, as tolerant and patient as his predecessor. But this second superior soon acquires unbounded influence over the inferior: if the first one looks on, he may wonder at the alacrity and affection of his former subordinate towards the new man, and talk much about ingratitude. But the inferior has now found somebody to lean upon, and to reverence. And he

cannot deny his nature and be otherwise than he is. In this case it does not look like ingratitude, except, perhaps, to the complaining person. But there are doubtless numerous instances in which, if we saw all the facts clearly, we should no more confirm the charge of ingratitude than we do here.

Then, again, we seldom make sufficient allowance for the burden which there is in obligation: at least to all but great and good minds. There are some people who can receive as heartily as they would give; but the obligation of an ordinary person to an ordinary person is more apt to be brought to mind as a present sore than as a past delight.

Amongst the unreasonable views of the affections, the most absurd one has been the fancy that love entirely depends upon the will; still more that the love of others for us is to be guided by the inducements which seem probable to us. We have served them; we think only of them; we are their lovers, or fathers, or brothers; we deserve and require to be loved, and to have the love proved to us. But love is not like property: it has neither duties nor rights. You argue for it in vain: and there is no one who can give it you. It is not his or hers to give. Millions of bribes and infinite arguments cannot prevail. For it is not a substance, but a relation. There is no royal road. We are loved as we are lovable

to the person loving. It is no answer to say that in some cases the love is based on no reality, but is solely in the imagination—that is, that we are loved, not for what we are, but for what we are fancied to be. That will not bring it any more into the dominions of logic: and love still remains the same untamable creature, deaf to advocacy, blind to other people's idea of merit, and not a substance to be weighed or numbered at all.

Then, as to the complaints about broken friendship. Friendship is often outgrown; and his former child's clothes will no more fit a man than some of his former friendships. Often a breach of friendship is supposed to occur, when there is nothing of the kind. People see one another seldom; their courses in life are different; they meet, and their intercourse is constrained. They fancy that their friendship is mightily cooled. But imagine the dearest friends, one coming home after a long sojourn, the other going out to new lands: the ships that carry these meet; the friends talk together in a confused way not relevant at all to their friendship, and, if not well assured of their mutual regard, might naturally fancy that it was much abated. Something like this occurs daily in the stream of the world. Then, too, unless people are very unreasonable, they cannot expect that their

friends will pass into new systems of thought and action without new ties of all kinds being created, and some modification of the old ones taking place.

When we are talking of exorbitant claims made for the regard of others, we must not omit those of what is called neglected merit. A man feels that he has abilities or talents of a particular kind, that he has shown them, and still he is a neglected man. I am far from saying that merit is sufficiently looked out for: but a man may take the sting out of any neglect of his merits by thinking that at least it does not arise from malice prepense, as he almost imagines in his anger. Neither the public, nor individuals, have the time, or will, resolutely to neglect anybody. What pleases us we admire and further: if a man in any profession, calling, or art, does things which are beyond us, we are as guiltless of neglecting him, as the Caffres are of neglecting the differential calculus. Milton sells his *Paradise Lost* for ten pounds: there is no record of Shakspeare dining much with Queen Elizabeth. And it is Utopian to imagine that statues will be set up to the right men in their day.

The same arguments which applied to the complaints of ingratitude, apply to the complaints of neglected merit. The merit is oftentimes not understood. Be it ever so manifest,

it cannot absorb men's attention. When it is really great, it has not been brought out by the hope of reward, any more than the kindest services by the hope of gratitude. In neither case is it becoming or rational to be clamorous about payment.

There is one thing that people hardly ever remember, or, indeed, have imagination enough to conceive; namely, the effect of each man being shut up in his individuality. Take a long course of sayings and doings in which many persons have been engaged. Each one of them is in his own mind the centre of the web, though perhaps he is at the edge of it. We know that in our observations of the things of sense, any difference in the points from which the observation is taken, gives a different view of the same thing. Moreover, in the world of sense, the objects and the points of view are each indifferent to the rest; but in life the points of view are centres of action that have had something to do with the making of the things looked at. If we could calculate the moral parallax arising from these causes, we should see, by the mere aid of the intellect, how unjust we often are in our complaints of ingratitude, inconstancy, and neglect. But without these nice calculations, such errors of view may be corrected at once by humility, a more sure method than the most

enlightened appreciation of the cause of error. Humility is the true cure for many a needless headache.

It must not be supposed that in thus opposing unreasonable views of social affections, any thing is done to dissever such affections. The Duke of Wellington, writing to a man in a dubious position of authority, says, "the less you claim, the more you will have." This is remarkably true of the affections: and there is scarcely any thing that would make men happier than teaching them to watch against unreasonableness in their claims of regard and affection; and which at the same time would be more likely to insure their getting what may be their due.

ELLESMERE (clapping his hands). An essay after my heart: worth tons of soft trash. In general you are amplifying duties, telling everybody that they are to be so good to every other body. Now it is as well to let every other body know that he is not to expect all he may fancy from everybody. A man complains that his prosperous friends neglect him: infinitely overrating, in all probability, his claims, and his friends' power of doing any thing for him. Well, then, you may think me very hard, but I say that the most absurd claims are often put forth on the ground of Relationship. I do not deny that there is something in blood, but it must not be made too much of. Near relations have

great opportunities of attaching each other: if they fail to use these, I do not think it is well to let them imagine that mere relationship is to be a talisman of affection.

DUNSFORD. I do not see exactly how to answer all that you or Milverton have said; but I am not prepared, as official people say, to agree with you. I especially disagree with what Milverton has said about love. He leaves much too little power to the will.

MILVERTON. I dare say I may have done so. These are very deep matters, and any one view about them does not exhaust them. I remember C. once saying to me that a man never utters any thing without error. He may even think of it rightly; but he cannot bring it out rightly. It turns a little false, as it were, when it quits the brain and comes into life.

ELLESMERE. I thought you would soon go over to the soft side. Here, Rollo; there's a good dog. You do not form unreasonable expectations, do you? A very little petting puts you into an ecstasy, and you are much wiser than many a biped who is full of his claims for gratitude, and friendship, and love; and who is always longing for well-merited rewards to fall into his mouth. Down, dog!

MILVERTON. Poor animal! it little knows that all this sudden notice is only by way of ridiculing us. Why I did not maintain my ground stoutly against Dunsford is, that I am always afraid of pushing moral conclusions too far. Since we have been talking, I think I see more clearly than I did before, what I mean to convey by the essay—namely, that men fall into unreasonable views respecting the affections *from imagining that*

the general laws of the mind are suspended for the sake of the affections.

DUNSFORD. That seems safer ground.

MILVERTON. Now to illustrate what I mean by a very similar instance. The mind is avid of new impressions. It "travels over," or thinks it travels over, another mind; and, though it may conceal its wish for "fresh fields and pastures new," it does so wish. However harsh, therefore, and unromantic it may seem, the best plan is to humor nature, and not to exhaust by over frequent presence the affection of those whom we would love, or whom we would have to love us. I would not say, after the manner of Rochefoucauld, that the less we see of people the more we like them; but there are certain limits of sociality; and prudent reserve and absence may find a place in the management of the tenderest relations.

DUNSFORD. Yes, all this is true enough: I do not see any thing hard in this. But then there is the other side. Custom is a great aid to affection.

MILVERTON. Yes. All I say is, do not fancy that the general laws are suspended for the sake of any one affection.

DUNSFORD. Still, this does not go to the question, whether there is not something more of will in affection than you make out. You would speak of inducements and counter-inducements, aids and hindrances; but I cannot but think you are limiting the power of will, and therefore limiting duty. Such views tend to make people easily discontented with each other, and prevent their making efforts to get over offences, and to find out what is lovable in those about them.

ELLESMERE. Here we are in the deep places again. I see you are pondering, Milverton. It is a question, as a minister would say when parliament perplexes him, that we must go to the country upon; each man's heart will, perhaps, tell him best about it. For my own part, I think that the continuance of affection, as the rise of it, depends more on the taste being satisfied, or at least not disgusted, than upon any other single thing. Our hearts may be touched at being loved by people essentially distasteful to us, whose modes of talking and acting are a continual offence to us; but whether we can love them in return is a question.

MILVERTON. Yes we can, I think. I begin to see that it is a question of degree. The word love includes many shades of meaning. When it includes admiration, of course we cannot be said to love those in whom we see nothing to admire. But this seldom happens in the mixed characters of real life. The upshot of it all seems to me to be, that, as Guizot says of civilization, every impulse has room; so in the affections, every inducement and counter-inducement has its influence; and the result is not a simple one, which can be spoken of as if it were alike on all occasions and with all men.

DUNSFORD. I am still unanswered, I think, Milverton. What you say is still wholly built upon inducements, and does not touch the power of will.

MILVERTON. No: it does not.

ELLESMERE. We must leave that alone. Infinite piles of books have not as yet lifted us up to a clear view of that matter.

DUNSFORD. Well, then, we must leave it as a vexed question; but let it be seen that there is such a question. Now, as to another thing; you speak, Milverton, of men's not making allowance enough for the unpleasant weight of obligation. I think that weight seems to have increased in modern times. Essex could give Bacon a small estate, and Bacon could take it comfortably, I have no doubt. That is a much more wholesome state of things among friends than the present.

MILVERTON. Yes, undoubtedly. An extreme notion about independence has made men much less generous in receiving.

DUNSFORD. It is a falling off then. There was another comment I had to make. I think, when you speak about the exorbitant demands of neglected merit, you should say more upon the neglect of the just demands of merit.

MILVERTON. I would have the government and the public in general try by all means to understand and reward merit, especially in those matters wherein excellence cannot, otherwise, meet with large present reward. But, to say the truth, I would have this done, not with the view of fostering genius so much as of fulfilling duty: I would say to a minister—it is becoming in you—it is well for the nation, to reward, as far as you can, and dignify, men of genius. Whether you will do them any good, or bring forth more of them, I do not know.

ELLESMERE. Men of great genius are often such a sensitive race, so apt to be miserable in many other than pecuniary ways and want of public estimation,

that I am not sure that distress and neglect do not take their minds off worse discomforts. It is a kind of grievance, too, that they like to have.

DUNSFORD. Really, Ellesmere, that is a most unfeeling speech.

MILVERTON. At any rate, it is right for us to honor and serve a great man. It is our nature to do so, if we are worth any thing. We may put aside the question whether our honor will do him more good than our neglect. That is a question for him to look to. The world has not yet so largely honored deserving men in their own time, that we can exactly pronounce what effect it would have upon them.

ELLESMERE. Come, Rollo, let us leave the men of sentiment. Oh, you will not go, as your master does not move. Look how he wags his tail, and almost says, "I should dearly like to have a hunt after the water-rat we saw in the pond the other day, but master is talking philosophy, and requires an intelligent audience." These dogs are dear creatures it must be owned. Come, Milverton let us have a walk.

CHAPTER X.

AFTER the reading in the last chapter, my friends walked homewards with me as far as Durley Wood, which is about half way between Worth Ashton and my house. As we rested there, we bethought ourselves that it would be a pleasant spot for us to come to sometimes and read our essays. So we agreed to name a day for meeting there. The day was favorable, we met as we had appointed, and, finding some beech logs lying very opportunely, took possession of them for our council. We seated Ellesmere on one that we called the woolsack, but which he said he felt himself unworthy to occupy in the presence of King Log, pointing to mine. These nice points of etiquette being at last settled, Milverton drew out his papers and was about to begin reading, when Ellesmere thus interrupted him.

ELLESMERE. You were not in earnest, Milverton, about giving us an essay on population; because if so, I think I shall leave this place to you and Dunsford and the ants.

MILVERTON. I certainly have been meditating something of the sort; but have not been able to make much of it.

ELLESMERE. If I had been living in those days when it first beamed upon mankind that the earth was round, I am sure I should have said, "we know now the bounds of the earth: there are no interminable plains joined to the regions of the sun, allowing of indefinite sketchy outlines at the edges of maps. That little creature man will immediately begin to think that his world is too small for him."

MILVERTON. There has probably been as much folly uttered by political economy as against it, which is saying something. The danger as regards theories of political economy is the obvious one, of their abstract conclusions being applied to concrete things.

ELLESMERE. As if we were to expect mathematical lines to bear weights.

MILVERTON. Something like that. With a good system of logic pervading the public mind, this danger would of course be avoided; but such a state of mind is not likely to occur in any public that we or our grandchildren are likely to have to deal with. As it is, an ordinary man hears some conclusion of political economy, showing some particular tendency of things, which in real life meets with many counteractions of all kinds: but he, perhaps, adopts the conclusion without the least abatement, and would work it into life, as if all went on there like a rule-of-three sum.

ELLESMERE. After all, this error arises from the man's not having enough political economy. It is not

that a theory is good on paper, but unsound in real life. It is only that in real life you cannot get at the simple state of things to which the theory would rightly apply. You want many other theories, and the just composition of them all, to be able to work the whole problem. That being done, (which, however, scarcely can be done,) the result on paper might be read off as applicable at once to life. But now touching the essay; since we are not to have population, what is it to be?

MILVERTON. Public Improvements.

ELLESMERE. Nearly as bad; but as this is a favorite subject of yours, I suppose it will not be polite to go away.

MILVERTON. No, you must listen.

PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS.

What are possessions? To an individual, the stores of his own heart and mind pre-eminently. His truth and valor are amongst the first. His contentedness, or his resignation, may be put next. Then his sense of beauty, surely a possession of great moment to him. Then all those mixed possessions which result from the social affections — great possessions, unspeakable delights, much greater than the gift last mentioned in the former class, but held on more uncertain tenure. Lastly, what are generally called possessions. However often we have

heard of the vanity, uncertainty, and vexation that beset these last, we must not let this repetition deaden our minds to the fact.

Now, national possessions must be estimated by the same gradation that we have applied to individual possessions. If we consider national luxury, we shall see how small a part it may add to national happiness. Men of deserved renown, and peerless women, lived upon what we should now call the coarsest fare, and paced the rushes in their rooms with as high, or as contented thoughts, as their better fed and better clothed descendants can boast of. Man is limited in this direction; I mean in the things that concern his personal gratification; but when you come to the higher enjoyments, the expansive power both in him and them is greater. As Keats says,

“ A thing of beauty is a joy for ever :
Its loveliness increases ; it will never
Pass into nothingness ; but still will keep
A bower quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing.”

What then are a nation's possessions? The great words that have been said in it; the great deeds that have been done in it; the great buildings, and the great works of art, that have been made in it. A man says a noble saying: it is a possession, first to his own race, then to man-

kind. A people get a noble building built for them : it is an honor to them, also a daily delight and instruction. It perishes. The remembrance of it is still a possession. If it was indeed pre-eminent, there will be more pleasure in thinking of it, than in being with others of inferior order and design.

On the other hand, a thing of ugliness is potent for evil. It deforms the taste of the thoughtless : it frets the man who knows how bad it is : it is a disgrace to the nation who raised it ; an example and an occasion for more monstrosities. If it is a great building in a great city, thousands of people pass it daily, and are the worse for it, or at least not the better. It must be done away with. Next to the folly of doing a bad thing is that of fearing to undo it. We must not look at what it has cost, but at what it is. Millions may be spent upon some foolish device which will not the more make it into a possession, but only a more noticeable detriment.

It must not be supposed that works of art are the only, or the chief, public improvements needed in any country. Wherever men congregate, the elements become scarce. The supply of air, light, and water, is then a matter of the highest public importance : and the magnificent utili-

tarianism of the Romans should precede the nice sense of beauty of the Greeks. Or rather, the former should be worked out in the latter. Sanitary improvements, like most good works, may be made to fulfil many of the best human objects. Charity, social order, conveniency of living, and the love of the beautiful, may all be furthered by such improvements. A people are seldom so well employed as when, not suffering their attention to be absorbed by foreign quarrels and domestic broils, they bethink themselves of winning back those blessings of nature which assemblages of men mostly vitiate, exclude, or destroy.

Public improvements are sometimes most difficult in free countries. The origination of them is difficult there, many diverse minds having to be persuaded. The individual, or class, resistance to the public good, is harder to conquer than in despotic States. And, what is most embarrassing, perhaps, individual progress in the same direction, or individual doings in some other way, form a great hindrance, sometimes, to public enterprise. On the other hand, the energy of a free people is a mine of public welfare; and individual effort brings many good things to bear in much shorter time than any government could be expected to move in. A judicious statesman considers these things; and

sets himself especially to overcome those peculiar obstacles to public improvement which belong to the institutions of his country. Adventure in a despotic State, combined action in a free State, are the objects which peculiarly demand his attention.

To return to works of art. In this also the genius of the people is to be heeded. There may have been, there may be, nations requiring to be diverted from the love of art to stern labor and industrial conquests. But certainly it is not so with the Anglo-Saxon race, or with the Northern races generally. Money may enslave them; logic may enslave them; art never will. The chief men, therefore, in these races will do well sometimes to contend against the popular current, and to convince their people that there are other sources of delight, and other objects worthy of human endeavor, than severe money-getting or mere material successes of any kind.

In fine, the substantial improvement, and even the embellishment of towns, is a work which both the central and local governing bodies in a country should keep a steady hand upon. It especially concerns them. What are they there for, but to do that which individuals cannot do? It concerns them, too, as it tells upon the health, morals, education, and refined pleasures of the people they govern. In doing it, they should

avoid pedantry, parsimony, and favoritism ; and their mode of action should be large, considerate, and foreseeing. Large ; inasmuch as they must not easily be contented with the second best in any of their projects. Considerate ; inasmuch as they have to think what their people need most, not what will make most show. And therefore, they should be contented, for instance, at their work going on under ground for a time, or in by-ways, if needful ; the best charity in public works, as in private, being often that which courts least notice. Lastly, their works should be with foresight ; recollecting that cities grow up about us like young people, before we are aware of it.

ELLESMERE. Another very merciful essay ! When we had once got upon the subject of sanitary improvements, I thought we should soon be five fathom deep in blue-books, reports, interminable questions of sewerage, and horrors of all kinds.

MILVERTON. I am glad you own that I have been very tender of your impatience in this essay. People, I trust, are now so fully aware of the immense importance of sanitary improvements, that we do not want the elementary talking about such things that was formerly necessary. It is difficult, though, to say too much about sanitary matters ; that is, if by saying much, one could gain attention. I am convinced that the most fruitful source of physical evil to mankind has

been impure air—arising from circumstances which might have been obviated. Plagues and pestilences of all kinds, cretinism too and all scrofulous disorders are probably mere questions of ventilation. A district may require ventilation as well as a house.

ELLESMERE. Seriously speaking, I quite agree with you. And what delights me in sanitary improvements is, that they can hardly do harm. Give a poor man good air, and you do not diminish his self-reliance. You only add to his health and vigor; make more of a man of him. But now that the public mind, as it is facetiously called, has got hold of the idea of these improvements, everybody will be chattering about them.

MILVERTON. The very time when those who really do care for these matters should be watchful to make the most of the tide in their favor, and should not suffer themselves to relax their efforts because there is no originality now about such things.

DUNSFORD. Custom soon melts off the wings which Novelty alone has lent to Benevolence.

ELLESMERE. And down comes the charitable Icarus. A very good simile, my dear Dunsford, but rather of the Latin verse order. I almost see it worked into an hexameter and pentameter, and delighting the heart of an Eton boy.

DUNSFORD. Ellesmere is more than usually vicious to-day, Milverton. A great "public improvement" would be to clip the tongues of some of these lawyers.

ELLESMERE. Possibly. I have just been looking again at that part of the Essay, Milverton, where you talk of the little gained by national luxury. I think

with you. There is an immensity of nonsense uttered about making people happy, which is to be done, according to the happiness-mongers, by quantities of sugar and tea, and such like things. One knows the importance of food ; but there is no Elysium to be got out of it.

MILVERTON. I know what you mean. There is a kind of pity for the people now in vogue which is most effeminate. It is a sugared sort of Robespierre talk about "The poor but virtuous People." To address such stuff to the people, is not to give them any thing, but to take away what they have. Suppose you could give them oceans of tea and mountains of sugar, and abundance of any luxury that you choose to imagine, but at the same time you inserted a hungry, envious spirit in them, what have you done ? Then, again, this envious spirit, when it is turned to difference of station, what good can it do ? Can you give station according to merit ? Is life long enough for it ?

ELLESMERE. Of course we cannot always be weighing men with nicety, and saying, "Here is your place, here yours."

MILVERTON. Then, again, what happiness do you confer on men by teaching them to disrespect their superiors in rank, by turning all the embellishments which adorn various stations wrong side out, putting every thing in its lowest form, and then saying, "What do you see to admire here ?" You do not know what injury you may do a man when you destroy all reverence in him. It will be found out some day, that men derive more pleasure and profit from having superiors than from having inferiors.

DUNSFORD. It is seldom that I bring you back to your subject, but we are really a long way off at present: and I want to know, Milverton, what you would do specifically in the way of public improvements. Of course you cannot say in an essay what you would do in such matters, but amongst ourselves. In London, for instance.

MILVERTON. The first thing for Government to do, Dunsford, in London, or any other great town, is to secure open spaces in it and about it. Trafalgar Square may be dotted with hideous absurdities, but it is an open space. They may collect together there specimens of every variety of meanness and bad taste; but they cannot prevent its being a better thing than if it were covered with houses. Public money is scarcely ever so well employed as in securing bits of waste ground and keeping them as open spaces. Then, as under the most favorable circumstances we are likely to have too much carbon in the air of any town, we should plant trees to restore the just proportions of the air as far as we can.* Trees are also what the heart and the eye desire most in towns. The Boulevards in Paris show the excellent effect of trees against buildings. There are many parts of London where rows of trees might be planted along the streets. The weighty dulness of Portland Place, for instance, might be thus relieved. Of course, in any scheme of public improvements, the getting rid of smoke is one of the first objects.

ELLESMERE. Yes, smoke is a great abuse; but then there is something ludicrous about it: just as there is about sewerage. I believe, myself, that for one person

* See Health of Towns Report, 1844, Vol. i., p. 44.

that the corn-laws have injured, a dozen have had their lives shortened and their happiness abridged in every way by these less palpable nuisances. But there is no grandeur in opposing them : no "good cry" to be raised. And so, as abuses cannot be met in our day but by agitation—a committee, secretaries, clerks, newspapers, and a Review—and as agitation in this case holds out fewer inducements than usual, we have gone on year after year being poisoned by these various nuisances, at an incalculable expense of life and money.

MILVERTON. There is something in what you say, I think ; but you press it too far. For of late these sanitary subjects have worked themselves into notice, as you yourself admit.

ELLESMERE. Late indeed !

MILVERTON. Well, but to go on with schemes for improving London. Open spaces, trees—then comes the supply of water. This is one of the first things to be done. Philadelphia has given an example which all towns ought to imitate. It is a matter requiring great thought, and the various plans should be thoroughly canvassed before the choice is made. Great beauty and the highest utility may be combined in supplying a town like London with water. By the way, how much water do you think London requires daily ?

ELLESMERE. As much as the Serpentine and the water in St. James's Park.

MILVERTON. You are not so far out.

Well then, having gone through the largest things that must be attended to, we come to minor matters. It is a great pity that the system of building upon leases should be so commonly adopted. Nobody ex-

pects to live out the leasehold term which he takes to build upon. But things would be better done, if people were more averse to having any thing to do with leasehold property. C. always says that the modern lath and plaster system is a wickedness, and upon my word I think he is right. It is inconceivable to me how a man can make up his mind to build, or do any thing else, in a temporary, slight, insincere fashion. What has a man to say for himself, who must sum up the doings of his life in this way? "I chiefly employed myself in making or selling things which seemed to be good and were not. And nobody has occasion to bless me for any thing I have done."

ELLESMERE. Humph, you put it mildly. But the man has made perhaps seven per cent. of his money; or if he has made no per cent., has ruined several men of his own trade, which is not to go for nothing, when a man is taking stock of his good deeds.

MILVERTON. There is one thing I forgot to say, that we want more individual will in building, I think. As it is at present, a great builder takes a plot of ground and turns out innumerable houses, all alike, the same faults and merits running through each: thus adding to the general dulness of things.

ELLESMERE. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, when she came from abroad, remarked that all her friends seemed to have got into drawing-rooms which were like a grand piano, first a large square or oblong room, and then a small one. Quite Georgian, this style of architecture. But now I think we are improving immensely, at any rate in the outside of houses. By the way, Milverton, I want to ask you one thing; How is

it that Governments and Committees, and the bodies that manage matters of taste, seem to be more tasteless than the average run of people? I will wager any thing that the cabmen round Trafalgar Square would have made a better thing of it than it is. If you had put before them several prints of fountains, they would not have chosen those.

MILVERTON. I think with you, but I have no theory to account for it. I suppose that these committees are frequently hampered by other considerations than those which come before the public when they are looking at the work done. And this may be some excuse. There was a custom which I have heard prevailed in former days in some of the Italian cities, of making large models of the works of art that were to adorn the city, and putting them up in the places intended for the works when finished, and then inviting criticism. It would really be a very good plan in some cases.

ELLESMERE. Now, Milverton, would you not forthwith pull down such things as Buckingham Palace and the National Gallery? Dunsford looks at me as if I were going to pull down the Constitution.

MILVERTON. I would pull them down to a certainty, or some parts of them at any rate; but whether "forthwith," is another question. There are greater things, perhaps, to be done first. We must consider, too,

"That eternal want of pence
Which vexes public men."

Still, I think we ought always to look upon such buildings as temporary arrangements, and they vex one less

then. The Palace ought to be in the higher part of the Park, perhaps on that slope opposite Piccadilly.

DUNSFORD. Well, it does amuse me the way in which you youngsters go on, pulling down, in your industrious imaginations, palaces and national galleries, building aqueducts and cloacæ maximæ, forming parks, destroying smoke, so large a part of every Londoner's diet, and abridging plaster, without fear of Chancellors of the Exchequer, and the resistance of mankind in general.

MILVERTON. We must begin by thinking boldly about things. That is a larger part of any undertaking than it seems, perhaps.

DUNSFORD. We must, I am afraid, break off our pleasant employment of projecting public improvements, unless we mean to be dinnerless.

ELLESMERE. A frequent fate of great projectors, I fear.

MILVERTON. Now then, homewards.

CHAPTER XI.

My readers will, perhaps, agree with me in being sorry to find that we are coming to the end of our present series. I say "my readers," though I have so little part in purveying for them, that I mostly consider myself one of them. It is no light task, however, to give a good account of a conversation; and I say this, and would wish people to try whether I am not right in saying so, not to call attention to my labor in the matter, but because it may be well to notice how difficult it is to report any thing truly. Were this better known, it might be an aid to charity, and prevent some of those feuds which grow out of the poverty of man's powers to express, to apprehend, to represent, rather than out of any malignant part of his nature. But I must not go on moralizing. I almost feel that Ellesmere is looking over my shoulder and breaking into my discourse with sharp words, which I have lately been so much accustomed to.

I had expected that we should have many more readings this summer, as I knew that Milverton had prepared more essays for us. But finding, as he said, that the other subjects he

had in hand were larger than he had anticipated, or was prepared for, he would not read even to *us* what he had written. Though I was very sorry for this, for I may not be the chronicler in another year, I could not but say he was right. Indeed, my ideas of literature, nourished as they have been in much solitude and by the reading, if I may say so, mainly of our classical authors, are very high placed, though I hope not fantastical. And, therefore, I would not discourage any one in expending whatever thought and labor might be in him upon any literary work.

In fine, then, I did not attempt to dissuade Milverton from his purpose of postponing our readings; and we agreed that there should only be one more for the present. I wished it to be at our favorite place on the lawn, which had become endeared to me as the spot of many of our friendly councils.

It was later than usual when I came over to Worth Ashton for this reading; and as I gained the brow of the hill, some few clouds tinged with red were just grouping together to form the accustomed pomp upon the exit of the setting sun. I believe I mentioned in the introduction to our first conversation, that the ruins of an old castle could be seen from our place of meeting. Milverton and Ellesmere were talking about it as I joined them.

MILVERTON. Yes, Ellesmere, many a man has looked out of those windows upon a sunset like this, with some of the thoughts that must come into the minds of all men, on seeing this great emblem, the setting sun—has felt, in looking at it, his coming end, or the closing of his greatness. Those old walls must have been witness to every kind of human emotion. Henry the Second was there; John, I think; Margaret of Anjou and Cardinal Beaufort; William of Wykeham; Henry the Eighth's Cromwell; and many others who have made some stir in the world.

ELLESMERE. And, perhaps, the greatest there were those who made no stir.

"The world knows nothing of its greatest men."

MILVERTON. I am slow to believe that. I cannot well reconcile myself to the idea, that great capacities are given for nothing. They bud out in some way or other.

ELLESMERE. Yes, but it may not be in a noisy way.

MILVERTON. There is one thing that always strikes me very much in looking at the lives of men: how soon, as it were, their course seems to be determined. They say, or do, or think, something which gives a bias at once to the whole of their career.

DUNSFORD. You may go further back than that; and speak of the impulses they get from their ancestors.

ELLESMERE. Or the nets around them of other people's ways and wishes. There are many things, you see, that go to make men puppets.

MILVERTON. I was only noticing the circumstance, that there was such a thing, as it appeared to me, as this early direction. But, if it has been ever so unfortunate, a man's folding his hands over it, in melancholy mood, and suffering himself to be made a puppet by it, is a sadly weak proceeding. Most thoughtful men have probably some dark fountains in their souls, by the side of which, if there were time, and it were decorous, they could let their thoughts sit down and wail indefinitely. That long Byron wail fascinated men for a time; because there is that in human nature. Luckily, a great deal besides.

ELLESMERE. I delight in the helpful and hopeful men.

MILVERTON. A man that I admire very much, and have met with occasionally, is one who is always of use in any matter he is mixed up with, simply because he wishes that the best should be got out of the thing that is possible. There does not seem much in the description of such a character; but only see it in contrast with that of a brilliant man, for instance, who does not ever fully care about the matter in hand.

DUNSFORD. I can thoroughly imagine the difference.

MILVERTON. The human race may be bound up together in some mysterious way, each of us having a profound interest in the fortunes of the whole, and so, to some extent, of every portion of it. Such a man as I have described acts as though he had an intuitive perception of that relation, and therefore, a sort of family feeling for mankind, which gives him satisfac-

tion in making the best out of any human affair he has to do with.

But we really must have the essay, and not talk any more. It is on History.

HISTORY.

Among the fathomless things that are about us and within us, is the continuity of time. This gives to life one of its most solemn aspects. We may think to ourselves—Would there could be some halting place in life, where we could stay, collecting our minds, and see the world drift by us. But no: even while you read this, you are not pausing to read it. As one of the great French preachers, I think, says, We are embarked upon a stream, each in his own little boat, which must move uniformly onwards, till it ceases to move at all. It is a stream that knows "no haste, no rest;" a boat that knows no haven but one.

This unabated continuity suggests the past as well as the future. We would know what mighty empires this stream of time has flowed through, by what battle-fields it has been tinged, how it has been employed towards fertility, and what beautiful shadows on its surface have been seized by art, or science, or great words, and held in time-lasting, if not in everlasting,

beauty. This is what history tells us. Often in a faltering, confused, bedarkened way, like the deeds it chronicles. But it is what we have, and we must make the best of it.

The subject of this essay may be thus divided. Why history should be read—how it should be read—by whom it should be written—how it should be written—and how good writers of history should be called forth, aided, and rewarded.

1. WHY HISTORY SHOULD BE READ.

It takes us out of too much care for the present; it extends our sympathies; it shows us that other men have had their sufferings and their grievances; it enriches discourse, it enlightens travel. So does fiction. But the effect of history is more lasting and suggestive. If we see a place which fiction has treated of, we feel that it has some interest for us; but show us a spot where remarkable deeds have been done, or remarkable people have lived, and our thoughts cling to it. We employ our own imaginations about it: we invent the fiction for ourselves. Again, history is at least the conventional account of things: that which men agree to receive as the right account, and which they discuss as true. To understand their talk, we

must know what they are talking about. Again, there is something in history which can seldom be got from the study of the lives of individual men; namely, the movements of men collectively, and for long periods—of man, in fact, not of men. In history, the composition of the forces that move the world has to be analyzed. We must have before us the law of the progress of opinion, the interruptions to it of individual character, the principles on which men act in the main, the trade-winds, as we may say, in human affairs, and the recurrent storms which one man's life does not tell us of. Again, by the study of history, we have a chance of becoming tolerant, travelling over the ways of many nations and many periods; and we may also acquire that historic tact by which we collect upon one point of human affairs the light of many ages.

We may judge of the benefit of historical studies by observing what great defects are incident to the moral and political writers who know nothing of history. A present grievance, or what seems such, swallows up in their minds all other considerations; their little bottle of oil is to still the raging waves of the whole human ocean; their system, a thing that the historian has seen before, perhaps, in many ages, is to reconcile all diversities. Then they would persuade you that this class of men is wholly good,

that wholly bad ; or that there is no difference between good and bad. They may be shrewd men, considering what they have seen, but would be much shrewder if they could know how small a part that is of life. We may all refer to our boyhood, and recollect the time when we thought the things about us were the type of all things everywhere. That was, perhaps, after all, no silly princess who was for feeding the famishing people on cakes. History takes us out of this confined circle of childlike thought ; and shows us what are the perennial aims, struggles, and distractions of mankind.

History has always been set down as the especial study for statesmen, and for men who take interest in public affairs. For history is to nations what biography is to individual men. History is the chart and compass for national endeavor. Our early voyagers are dead : not a plank remains of the old ships that first essayed unknown waters ; the sea retains no track ; and were it not for the history of these voyages contained in charts, in chronicles, in hoarded lore of all kinds, each voyager, though he were to start with all the aids of advanced civilization, (if you could imagine such a thing without history,) would need the boldness of the first voyager.

And so it would be with the statesman, were the civil history of mankind unknown. We live

to some extent in peace and comfort upon the results obtained for us by the chronicles of our forefathers. We do not see this without some reflection. But imagine what a full grown nation would be, if it knew no history—like a full grown man with only a child's experience.

The present is an age of remarkable experiences. Vast improvements have been made in several of the outward things that concern life nearly, from intercourse rapid as lightning to surgical operation without pain. We accept them all; still the difficulties of government, the management of ourselves, our relations with others, and many of the prime difficulties of life remain but little subdued. History still claims our interest, is still wanted to make us think and act with any breadth of wisdom.

At the same time, however, that we claim for history great powers of instruction, we must not imagine that the examples which it furnishes will enable its readers to anticipate the experience of life. An inexperienced man reads that Cæsar did this or that, but he says to himself, "I am not Cæsar." Or, indeed, as is most probable, the reader has not to reject the application of the example to himself: for from first to last, he sees nothing but experience for Cæsar in what Cæsar was doing. I think it may be observed, too, that general maxims about life

gain the ear of the inexperienced, in preference to historical examples. But neither wise sayings, nor historical examples, can be understood without experience. Words are only symbols. Who can know any thing soundly with respect to the complicated affections and struggles of life, unless he has experienced some of them? All knowledge of humanity spreads from within. So, in studying history, the lessons it teaches must have something to grow round in the heart they teach. Our own trials, misfortunes, and enterprises are the best lights by which we can read history. Hence it is, that many an historian may see far less into the depths of the very history he has himself written than a man, who, having acted and suffered, reads the history in question with all the wisdom that comes from action and suffering. Sir Robert Walpole might naturally exclaim, "Do not read history to me, for that, I know, must be false." But if he had read it, I do not doubt that he would have seen through the film of false and insufficient narrative into the depth of the matter narrated, in a way that men of great experience can alone attain to.

2. HOW HISTORY SHOULD BE READ.

I suppose that many who now connect the very word history with the idea of dulness,

would have been fond and diligent students of history, if it had fair access to their minds. But they were set down to read histories which were not fitted to be read continuously, or by any but practised students. Some such works are mere frame-work, a name which the author of the *Statesman* applies to them, very good things, perhaps, for their purpose, but that is not, to invite readers to history. You might almost as well read dictionaries with a hope of getting a succinct and clear view of language. When, in any narration, there is a constant heaping up of facts, made about equally significant by the way of telling them, a hasty delineation of characters, and all the incidents moving on as in the fifth act of a confused tragedy, the mind and memory refuse to be so treated; and the reading ends in nothing but a very slight and inaccurate acquaintance with the mere husk of the history. You cannot epitomize the knowledge that it would take years to acquire, into a few volumes that may be read in as many weeks.

The most likely way of attracting men's attention to historical subjects will be by presenting them with small portions of history, of great interest, thoroughly examined. This may give them the habit of applying thought and criticism to historical matters.

For, as it is, how are people interested in history? and how do they master its multitudinous

assemblage of facts? Mostly, perhaps, in this way. A man cares about some one thing, or person, or event; and plunges into its history, really wishing to master it. This pursuit extends: other points of research are taken up by him at other times. His researches begin to intersect. He finds a connection in things. The texture of his historic acquisitions gradually attains some substance and color; and so at last he begins to have some dim notions of the myriads of men who came, and saw, and did not conquer—only struggled on as they best might, some of them—and are not.

When we are considering how history should be read, the main thing perhaps is, that the person reading should desire to know what he is reading about, not merely to have read the books that tell of it. The most elaborate and careful historian must omit, or pass slightly over, many parts of his subject. He writes for all readers, and cannot indulge private fancies. But history has its particular aspect for each man: there must be portions which he may be expected to dwell upon. And everywhere, even where the history is most labored, the reader should have something of the spirit of research which was needful for the writer: if only so much as to ponder well the words of the writer. That man reads history, or any thing else, at great peril of being thoroughly misled, who has no perception

of any truthfulness except that which can be fully ascertained by reference to facts; who does not in the least perceive the truth, or the reverse, of a writer's style, of his epithets, of his reasoning, of his mode of narration. In life our faith in any narration is much influenced by the personal appearance, voice, and gesture of the person narrating. There is some part of all these things in his writing; and you must look into that well before you can know what faith to give him. One man may make mistakes in names, and dates, and references, and yet have a real substance of truthfulness in him, a wish to enlighten himself and then you. Another may not be wrong in his facts, but have a declamatory, or sophistical, vein in him, much to be guarded against. A third may be both inaccurate and untruthful, caring not so much for any thing as to write his book. And if the reader cares only to read it, sad work they make between them of the memories of former days.

In studying history, it must be borne in mind, that a knowledge is necessary of the state of manners, customs, wealth, arts, and science, at the different periods treated of. The text of civil history requires a context of this knowledge in the mind of the reader. For the same reason, some of the main facts of the geography of the countries in question should be present to him. If we are ignorant of these aids to history, all

history is apt to seem alike to us. It becomes merely a narrative of men of our own time, in our own country. And then we are prone to expect the same views and conduct from them that we do from our contemporaries. It is true that the heroes of antiquity have been represented on the stage in bag-wigs, and the rest of the costume of our grandfathers; but it was the great events of their lives that were thus told—the crises of their passions—and when we are contemplating the representation of great passions and their consequences, all minor imagery is of little moment. In a long-drawn narrative, however, the more we have in our minds of what concerned the daily life of the people we read about, the better. And, in general, it may be said that history, like travelling, gives a return in proportion to the knowledge that a man brings to it.

3. BY WHOM HISTORY SHOULD BE WRITTEN.

Before entering directly on this part of the subject, it is desirable to consider a little the difficulties in the way of writing history. We all know the difficulty of getting at the truth of a matter which happened yesterday, and about which we can examine the living actors upon oath. But in history the most significant things may lack the most important part of their evi-

dence. The people who were making history were not thinking of the convenience of future writers of history. Often the historian must contrive to get his insight into matters from evidence of men and things which is like bad pictures of them. The contemporary, if he knew the man, said of the picture, "I should have known it, but it has very little of him in it." The poor historian, with no original before him, has to see through the bad picture into the man. Then, supposing our historian rich in well-selected evidence, I say well-selected, because, as students tell us, for many an historian, one authority is of the same weight as another, provided they are both of the same age; still, how difficult is narration even to the man who is rich in well-selected evidence! What a tendency there is to round off a narrative into falsehood; or else by parentheses to destroy its pith and continuity! Again, the historian knows the end of many of the transactions he narrates. If he did not, how differently often he would narrate them! It would be a most instructive thing to give a man the materials for the account of a great transaction, stopping short of the end, and then see how different would be his account from the ordinary ones. Fools have been hardly dealt with, in the saying that the event is their master ("eventus stultorum magister"), seeing how it rules us all. And in nothing more than

in history. The event is always present to our minds; along the pathways to it, the historian and the moralist have walked till they are beaten pathways, and we imagine that they were so, to men who first went along them. Indeed we almost fancy that these ancestors of ours, looking along the beaten path, foresaw the event as we do; whereas they mostly stumbled upon it suddenly in the forest. This knowledge of the end we must, therefore, put down as one of the most dangerous pitfalls which beset the writers of history. Then consider the difficulty in the "composition," to use an artist's word, of our historian's picture. Before both the artist and the historian lies nature as far as the horizon; how shall they choose that portion of it which has some unity and which shall represent the rest? What method is needful in the grouping of facts; what learning, what patience, what accuracy!

By whom then should history be written? In the first place, by men of some experience in real life: who have acted and suffered; who have been in crowds, and seen, perhaps felt, how madly men can care about nothings; who have observed how much is done in the world in an uncertain manner, upon sudden impulses and very little reason; and who, therefore, do not think themselves bound to have a deep-laid theory for all things. They should be men who

have studied the laws of the affections, who know how much men's opinions depend on the time in which they live, how they vary with their age and their position. To make themselves historians, they should also have considered the combinations amongst men, and the laws that govern such things; for there are laws. Moreover, our historians, like most men who do great things, must combine in themselves qualities which are held to belong to opposite natures; must at the same time be patient in research and vigorous in imagination, energetic and calm, cautious and enterprising. Such historians, wise, as we may suppose they will be, about the affairs of other men, may, let us hope, be sufficiently wise about their own affairs, as to understand that no great work can be done without great labor, that no great labor ought to look for its reward. But my reader will exclaim, as Rasselas to Imlac, on hearing the requisites for a poet, "Enough! thou hast convinced me that no human being can ever be *an historian*. Proceed with thy narration."

4. HOW HISTORY SHOULD BE WRITTEN.

One of the first things in writing history is for the historian to recollect that it is history he is writing. The narrative must not be oppress-

ed by reflections, even by wise ones. Least of all should the historian suffer himself to become entangled by a theory or a system. If he does, each fact is taken up by him in a particular way: those facts that cannot be so handled cease to be his facts, and those that offer themselves conveniently are received too fondly by him.

Then, although our historian must not be mastered by system, he must have some way of taking up his facts, and of classifying them. They must not be mere isolated units in his eyes; else he is mobbed by them. And a man in the midst of a crowd, though he may know the names and nature of all the crowd, cannot give an account of their doings. Those who look down from the housetop must do that.

But, above all things, the historian must get out of his own age into the time in which he is writing. Imagination is as much needed for the historian as the poet. You may combine bits of books with other bits of books, and so make some new combinations, and this may be done accurately, and, in general, much of the subordinate preparation for history may be accomplished without any great effort of imagination. But to write history, in any large sense of the words, you must be able to comprehend other times. You must know that there is a right

and a wrong which is not your right and wrong, but yet stands upon the right and wrong of all ages and all hearts. You must also appreciate the outward life and colors of the period you write about. Try to think how the men you are telling of would have spent a day, what were their leading ideas: what they cared about. Grasp the body of the time, and give it to us. If not, and these men could look at your history, they would say, "This is all very well; we dare say some of these things did happen; but we were not thinking of these things all day long. It does not represent us."

After enlarging upon this great requisite, imagination, it seems somewhat prosaic to come down to saying that history requires accuracy. But I think I hear the sighs, and sounds more harsh than sighing, of those who have ever investigated any thing, and found by dire experience the deplorable inaccuracy which prevails in the world. And, therefore, I would say to the historian almost as the first suggestion, "Be accurate; do not make false references, do not misstate: and men, if they get no light from you, will not execrate you. You will not stand in the way, and have to be explained and got rid of."

Another most important matter in writing history, and that indeed in which the art lies, is the

method of narrating. This is a thing almost beyond rules, like the actual execution in music or painting. A man might have fairness, accuracy, an insight into other times, great knowledge of facts, some power even of arranging them, and yet make a narrative out of it all, so protracted here, so huddled together there, the purpose so buried or confused, that men would agree to acknowledge the merit of the book and leave it unread. There must be a natural line of associations for the narrative to run along. The separate threads of the narrative must be treated separately, and yet the subject not be dealt with sectionally, for that is not the way in which the things occurred. The historian must, therefore, beware that those divisions of the subject which he makes for our ease and convenience, do not induce him to treat his subject in a flimsy manner. He must not make his story easy where it is not so.

After all, it is not by rule that a great history is to be written. Most thinkers agree that the main object for the historian, is to get an insight into the things which he tells of, and then to tell them with the modesty of a man who is in the presence of great events; and must speak about them carefully, simply, and with but little of himself or his affections thrown into the narration.

5. HOW GOOD WRITERS OF HISTORY SHOULD BE
CALLED FORTH, AIDED, AND REWARDED.

Mainly, by history being properly read. The direct ways of commanding excellence of any kind are very few, if any. When a State has found out its notable men, it should reward them, and will show its worthiness by its measure and mode of reward. But it cannot purchase them. It may do something in the way of aiding them. In history, for instance, the records of a nation may be discreetly managed, and some of the minor work, therefore, done to the hand of the historian. But the most likely method to insure good historians, is to have a fit audience for them. And this is a very difficult matter. In works of general literature, the circle of persons capable of judging is large: even in works of science or philosophy, it is considerable; but in history, it is a very confined circle. To the general body of readers, whether the history they read is true or not, is in no way perceptible. It is quite as amusing to them when it is told in one way, as in another. There is always mischief in error; but in this case the mischief is remote, or seems so. For men of ordinary culture, even if of much intelligence, the difficulty of discerning what is true or false in the histories they read, makes it a

matter of the highest duty for those few persons who can give us criticism on historical works, at least to save us from insolent and mendacious carelessness in historical writers, if not by just encouragement to secure for nations some results not altogether unworthy of the great enterprise which the writing of history holds out itself to be. "*Hujus enim fidei exempla majorum, vicissitudines rerum, fundamenta prudentiæ civilis, hominum denique nomen et fama commissa sunt.*" *

ELLESMERE. Just wait a minute for me, and do not talk about the Essay till I come back. I am going for Anster's Faust.

DUNSFORD. What has Ellesmere got in his head?

MILVERTON. I see. There is a passage where Faust, in his most discontented mood, falls foul of history—in his talk to Wagner, if I am not mistaken.

DUNSFORD. How beautiful it is this evening! Look at that yellow green near the sunset.

MILVERTON. The very words that Coleridge uses I always think of them when I see that tint.

DUNSFORD. I dare say his words were in my mind, but I have forgotten what you allude to.

MILVERTON.

O Lady! in this wan and heartless mood,
To other thoughts by yonder throstle wooed,

* Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum.

All this long eve, so balmy and serene,
 Have I been gazing on the western sky,
 And its peculiar tint of yellow green :
 And still I gaze—and with how blank an eye !
 And those thin clouds above, in flakes and bars,
 That give away their motion to the stars ;
 Those stars, that glide behind them or between,
 Now sparkling, now bedimmed, but always seen :
 Yon crescent Moon, as fixed as if it grew
 In its own cloudless, starless lake of blue ;
 I see them all so excellently fair,
 I see, not feel how beautiful they are !

DRENSFORD. Admirable ! In the “Ode to Dejection,” is it not ? where, too, there are those lines,

O Lady ! we receive but what we give,
 And in our life alone does nature live.

MILVERTON. But here comes Ellesmere with triumphant look. You look as jovial, my dear Ellesmere, as if you were a Bentley that had found out a false quantity in a Boyle.

ELLESMERE. Listen and perpend, my historical friends.

To us, my friend, the times that are gone by
 Are a mysterious book, sealed with seven seals :
 That which you call the spirit of ages past
 Is but, in truth, the spirit of some few authors
 In which those ages are beheld reflected,
 With what distortion strange heaven only knows.
 Oh ! often, what a toilsome thing it is
 This study of thine ! At the first glance we fly it.
 A mass of things confusedly heaped together ;
 A lumber-room of dusty documents,
 Furnished with all approved court-precedents,
 And old traditional maxims ! History !



HISTORY.

Facts dramatized say rather—action—plot—
Sentiment, every thing the writer's own,
As it best fits the web-work of his story,
With here and there a solitary fact
Of consequence, by those grave chroniclers,
Pointed with many a moral apophthegm,
And wise old saws, learned at the puppet-shows.

MILVERTON. Yes: admirable lines: they describe
to the life the very faults we have been considering as
the faults of badly written histories. I do not see that
they do much more.

ELLESMERE.

"To us, my friend, the times that are gone by
Are a mysterious book"—

MILVERTON. Those first two lines are the full ex-
pression of Faust's discontent—unmeasured, as in the
presence of a weak man who could not check him.
But, if you come to look at the matter closely, you will
see that the time present is also in some sense a sealed
book to us. Men that we live with daily we often
know as little of as we do of Julius Cæsar, I was going
to say—but we know much less of them than of him.

ELLESMERE. I did not mean to say that Faustus
spoke my sentiments about history in general. Still
there are periods of history which we have very few
authors to tell us about, and I dare say in some of
those cases the coloring of their particular minds gives
us a false idea of the whole age they lived in.

DUNSFORD. This may have happened, certainly.

MILVERTON. We must be careful not to expect
too much from the history of past ages, as a means of

understanding the present age. There is something wanted besides the preceding history, to understand each age. Each individual life may have a problem of its own, which all other biography, accurately set down for us, might not enable us to work out. So of each age. It has a something in it not known before, and tends to a result, which is not down in any books.

DUNSFORD. Yet history must be of greatest use in discerning this tendency.

ELLESMERE. Yes; but the Wagner sort of pedant would get entangled in his round of history—in his historical resemblances.

DUNSFORD. Now, Milverton, if you were called upon to say what are the peculiar characteristics of this age, what should you say?

ELLESMERE. One of Dunsford's questions, this, requiring a stout quarto volume with notes, in answer.

MILVERTON. I would rather wait till I was called upon. I am apt to feel, after I have left off describing the character of any individual man, as if I had only just begun. And I do not see the extent of discourse that would be needful in attempting to give the characteristics of an age.

ELLESMERE. I think you are prudent to avoid answering Dunsford's question. For my own part, I should prefer giving an account of the age we live in, after we have come to the end of it—in the true historical fashion. And so, Dunsford, you must wait for my notions.

DUNSFORD. I am afraid, Milverton, if you were to write history, you would never make up your mind to condemn anybody.

MILVERTON. I hope I should not be so inconclusive. I certainly do dislike to see any character, whether of a living or a dead person, disposed of in a summary way.

ELLESMERE. For once I will come to the rescue of Milverton. I really do not see that a man's belief in the extent and variety of human character, and in the difficulty of appreciating the circumstances of life, should prevent him from writing history—from coming to some conclusions. Of course such a man is not likely to write a long course of history; but that I hold has been a frequent error in historians—that they have taken up subjects too large for them.

MILVERTON. If there is as much to be said about men's character and conduct as I think there mostly is, why should we be content with shallow views of them? Take the outward form of these hills and valleys before us. When we have seen them a few times, we think we know them, but are quite mistaken. Approaching from another quarter, it is almost new ground to us. It is a long time before you master the outward form and semblance of any small piece of country that has much life and diversity in it. I often think of this, applying it to our little knowledge of men. Now look there a moment; you see that house: close behind it is apparently a barren tract. In reality there is nothing of the kind there. A fertile valley, with a great river in it, as you know, is between that house and the moors. But the plane of those moors and of the house is coincident from our present point of view. Had we not, as educated men, some distrust of the conclusions of our senses, we should be ready to

swear that there was a lonely house on the border of the moors. It is the same in judging of men. We see a man connected with a train of action which is really not near him, absolutely foreign to him perhaps, but in our eyes that is what he is always connected with. If there were not a being who understands us immeasurably better than other men can, immeasurably better than we do ourselves, we should be badly off.

Such precautionary thoughts as these must be useful, I contend. They need not make us indifferent to character, or prevent us from forming judgments where we must form them, but they show us what a wide thing we are talking about, when we are judging the life and nature of a man.

ELLESMERE. I am sure, Dunsford, you are already convinced: you seldom want more than a slight pretext for going over to the charitable side of things. You are only afraid of not dealing stoutly enough with bad things and people. Do not be afraid though. As long as you have me to abuse, you will say many unjust things against me, you know, so that you may waste yourself in good thoughts about the rest of the world, past and present. Do you know the lawyer's story I had in my mind, then? "Many times when I have had a good case," he said, "I have failed; but then I have often succeeded with bad cases. And so justice is done."

MILVERTON. To return to the subject. It is not a sort of equalizing want of thought about men that I desire: only not to be rash in a matter that requires all our care and prudence.

DUNSFORD. Well, I believe I am won over. But now to another point. I think, Milverton, that you have said hardly any thing about the use of history as an incentive to good deeds, and a discouragement to evil ones.

MILVERTON. I ought to have done so. Bolingbroke gives in his "Letters on History," talking of this point, a passage from Tacitus, "*Præcipuum munus annalium*"—can you go on with it, Dunsford?

DUNSFORD. Yes, I think I can. It is a passage I have often seen quoted. "*Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur; utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.*"

ELLESMERE. Well done; Dunsford may have invented it though, for aught that we know, Milverton, and be passing himself off upon us for Tacitus.

MILVERTON. Then Bolingbroke goes on to say, (I wish I could give you his own flowing words,) that the great duty of history is to form a tribunal like that amongst the Egyptians which Diodorus tells of, were both common men and princes were tried after their deaths, and received appropriate honor or disgrace. The sentence was pronounced, he says, too late to correct or to recompense; but it was pronounced in time to render examples of general instruction to mankind. Now, what I was going to remark upon this, is, that Bolingbroke understates his case. History well written is a present correction, and a foretaste of recompense, to the man who is now struggling with difficulties and temptations, now overcast by calumny and cloudy misrepresentations.

ELLESMERE. Yes: many a man makes an appea

to posterity, which will never come before the court ; but if there were no such court of appeal—

MILVERTON. A man's conviction that justice will be done to him in history is a secondary motive, and not one which, of itself, will compel him to do just and great things ; but, at any rate it forms one of the benefits that flow from history, and it becomes stronger as histories are better written. Much may be said against care for fame : much also against care for present repute. There is a diviner impulse than either at the doing of any actions that are much worth doing. As a correction, however, this anticipation of the judgment of history may really be very powerful. It is a great enlightenment of conscience, to read the opinions of men on deeds similar to those we are engaged in, or meditating.

DUNSFORD. I think Bolingbroke's idea, which I imagine was more general than yours, is more important ; namely, that this judicial proceeding, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, gave significant lessons to all people, not merely to those who had any chance of having their names in history.

MILVERTON. Certainly ; for this is one of Bolingbroke's chief points, if I recollect rightly.

ELLESMERE. Our conversations are much better things than your essays, Milverton.

MILVERTON. Of course, I am bound to say so : but what made you think of that now ?

ELLESMERE. Why, I was thinking how in talk we can know exactly where we agree or differ. But I never like to interrupt the essay. I never know when it would come to an end if I did. And so it swims on

like a sermon, having all its own way : one cannot put in an awkward question in a weak part, and get things looked at in various ways.

DUNSFORD. I suppose, then, Ellesmere, you would like to interrupt sermons.

ELLESMERE. Why, yes, sometimes—do not throw sticks at me, Dunsford.

DUNSFORD. Well, it is absurd to be angry with you ; because if you long to interrupt Milverton with his cautious perhapses and probablys, of course you will be impatient with discourses which do, to a certain extent, assume that the preacher and the hearers are in unison upon great matters.

ELLESMERE. I am afraid to say any thing about sermons, for fear of the argumentum baculinum from Dunsford ; but many essay writers, like Milverton, delight to wind up their paragraphs with complete little aphorisms—shutting up something certainly, but shutting out something too. I could generally pause upon them a little.

MILVERTON. Of course one may err, Ellesmere, in too much aphorizing as in too much of any thing. But your argument goes against all expression of opinion, which must be incomplete, especially when dealing with matters that cannot be circumscribed by exact definitions. Otherwise, a code of wisdom might be made which the fool might apply as well as the wisest man. Even the best proverb, though often the expression of the widest experience in the choicest language, can be thoroughly misplaced. It cannot embrace the whole of the subject, and apply in all cases like a mathematical formula. Its wisdom lies in the ear of the hearer.

ELLESMERE. Well, I do not know that there is any thing more to say about the essay. I suppose you are aware, Dunsford, that Milverton does not intend to give us any more essays for some time. He is distressing his mind about some facts which he wants to ascertain before he will read any more to us. I imagine we are to have something historical next.

MILVERTON. Something in which historical records are useful.

ELLESMERE. Really it is wonderful to see how beautifully human nature accommodates itself to any thing, even to the listening to essays. I shall miss them.

MILVERTON. You may miss the talk before and after.

ELLESMERE. Well, there is no knowing how much of that is provoked (provoked is a good word, is it not?) by the essays.

DUNSFORD. Then, for the present, we have come to an end of our readings.

MILVERTON. Yes; but I trust at no distant time to have something more to try your critical powers and patience upon. I hope that that old tower will yet see us meet together here on many a sunny day, discussing various things in friendly council.

FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

BOOK II.

"It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and intermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons; Asking of Questions, with Telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade, any thing too far."—BACON. *Essay of Discourse*.

CHAPTER I.

I AM again enabled to give some account of the readings and conversations at Worth Ashton during another summer.

I need not say much in the way of introduction, having before described our friendly council and the place of our meeting. There was but little alteration in the latter, except that Milverton had put up a sun-dial in the centre of the lawn, with the motto, "*Horus non numero nisi serenas*," which, I remember, gave occasion to Ellesmere to say, that for men the dial was either totally useless or utterly false. The only change about us was, that the animal part of our audience had greatly increased; for Milverton took much pleasure in observing the ways of animals, and Ellesmere, like some other great lawyers of past and present days, was very fond of live creatures of all kinds,—men, women, and children excepted, as I used to tell him. The most extraordinary packages marked "with great care," and given into the especial custody of railway guards, used to come down from time to time, containing purchases made by

Ellesmere at Hungerford market in his walks home from Westminster to his chambers. There was a Newfoundland puppy of remarkable sagacity, which already had the upper hand of Rollo; then there were pigeons, guinea-pigs, a jackdaw, and a gorgeous peacock that took his station on the low wall bounding the lawn, and displayed his imperial self to the admiration of all beholders. There were curious fowls of various kinds, and last, though not the least favored, a hedgehog which Ellesmere had sent (as if we could not find plenty of them in the country), and which he called "his learned friend," and the rest of the family called Snoozelem. Milverton received all these presents with wonderful equanimity; and Ellesmere thus emboldened, was now threatening to send down a raven, whenever he could meet with one of sufficient intelligence to be worthy of the party.

The human part of our friendly council seemed to me more worn and altered than one expects to find people in the course of a year. At least I thought so of the young men; (young men I am always calling them, though I suppose nobody else would;) and I found afterwards that they thought the same of me. The winter of 1846 and the spring of 1847 will long be remembered. The famine in Ireland and the distress here had pressed on the minds of all men who had to deal with it or to think about it, either

publicly or privately. In our own district, we had suffered much privation in a quiet way, and the whole minds of those who could do so, had been given to meet it. It was the same, I suppose, with most people who had either property, or office of any kind, lay or clerical, bringing upon them the additional responsibility which such times induce. The general distress and difficulty had, I suspect, weighed much even upon Ellesmere, though if you had asked him the question, he would have declared that he neither respected, liked, nor cared for, the public; and that he left all such notions to demagogues and philanthropists, vowing that he belonged as little to the one of these classes as to the other.

Our first meeting was on a fine afternoon, (a Saturday,) exactly at the old place on the lawn where we had broken up our last friendly council of the preceding year. It was the first day this summer that Ellesmere had been able to come, and Milverton had taken care to give me due notice of our friend's coming. I found them already seated. Ellesmere really looked pleased to see me.

ELLESMERE. Well, my dear Dunsford, I hope you are glad to see me again, and that you will give me better welcome than you have counselled Milverton, I hear, to give to some of the creatures with which I

have enriched his lawn and farm-yard, and enlivened your country dulness. Love me, not only love my dog, but my pig, my guinea-pig that is to say, my pigeons, and my hedgehog. A London pigeon is very good society for you country people: it could tell you a great deal, perhaps, about the prices of stock it had carried at various times, or the way of living at St. Giles's. I have a great mind to choose some nice animals for your place—a couple of young wolves now would do charmingly for the vicarage.

DUNSFORD. No, come yourself, and bring the whole of your bar with you instead; I had rather take the chance of that than of the animals you would be kind enough to provide for me.

ELLESMERE. Well, well, I will be merciful if you promise not to prejudice Milverton against my pets. But we must not talk any more just now. Let us have our reading. I must be off at six o'clock on Monday, so we must have the reading this afternoon. Now, Milverton, what is it to be? Something, I suppose, as novel and refreshing as your first essay of last summer. There is no end to your audacity in the choice of hackneyed subjects. I think you take a pride in it.

MILVERTON. No, indeed; but they do not appear hackneyed to me. However, I am not going to inflict any hackneyed subject upon you now. It is to be an essay on Reading. I will begin at once.

Hereupon Milverton read to us the following essay.

READING.

As the world grows older and as civilization advances, there is likely to be more and more time given to reading. In several parts of the earth where mankind are most active, and where the proportion of those who need to labor by their hands is less than in other countries, and likely to go on becoming less, the climate is such as to confine, if it does not repress, out-of-door amusements: and, in all climates, for the lovers of ease, the delicate in health, the reserved, the fastidious, and the musing, books are amongst the chief sources of delight, and such as will more probably intrench upon other joys and occupations than give way to them.

Notwithstanding this, the ethics of study, if I may use such a phrase, have been little considered; and those pursuits over which we might have more efficient control than most others, are left to chance as regards their origin, their conduct, and their end.

It appears to me remarkable that this subject should have been so little touched upon. Other subjects which are akin to it, but yet very different, have been largely investigated. But you will not find in treatises upon education, upon

professions, or upon general knowledge of life, any connected considerations with regard to the ethics and methods of private study. Bacon's "Advancement of learning" is treated as a book belonging to the learned; and, besides, it deals with universals rather than with particulars; indicates the sluggishness, the hindrances, and the course of the main rivers of knowledge; not busying itself with the local fortunes of small streams, retired rivulets and quiet pools, without which, however, these main rivers would float down no argosies towards the sea of time.

Gibbon says, "After a certain age, the new publications of merit are the sole food of the many." A sarcastic person would perhaps remark, that the words "of merit" might be omitted without injury to the truth of the sentence. But that would be too severe; for the publications of merit do mostly obtain some hearing in their own day, though a very disproportionate one to what they should have; as it is exceedingly difficult, even for highly-cultivated persons, to make good selection of the nascent fruits and flowers of literature amidst the rank herbage of the day.

Before entering upon the mode of managing study, or perhaps I ought to use the word reading, instead of study (for it would be quite wrong to suppose that the following remarks apply to professed students only), it would be

well to see what does really happen in life as regards the intellectual cultivation of most grown-up people. I ask them, Is it not mainly dependent upon chance? The professional man, wearied with the cares and labors of his office or employment, when he comes home, takes up whatever book may happen to be the reading or his wife, or mother, or daughters: and they, for women are often educated in a way to avoid method and intellectual strength of any kind, are probably contented with what the circulating library affords, and read according to the merest rumor and fashion of the present hour. Again, what is called light literature (how it has obtained or maintained that name is surprising), criticisms, scraps, tales, and the like, is nearly the sole intellectual food of many intelligent persons. Now, without undervaluing this kind of literature, which improved as it would be if addressed to a class of persons who were wont to read with wisdom and method, would be very serviceable to those persons; we cannot say but that to make such literature the staple of the mind, is unworthy and frivolous in the extreme.

I believe, however, that many persons are aware how indifferently they are spending their time in the way they read at present; and I shall not labor any more at this part of the subject, but come at once to what appears to me the remedy for the evil: which is, that every

man and every woman who can read at all, should adopt some definite purpose in their reading—should take something for the main stem and trunk of their culture, whence branches might grow out in all directions, seeking light and air for the parent tree, which, it is hoped, might end in becoming something useful and ornamental, and which, at any rate, all along, will have had life and growth in it.

I do not think that this is too great a task for the humblest reader. At the same time I am not prepared to show how this purpose may be secured in all cases, which must be left to disposition, to what we call chance, to peculiar facilities of any kind afforded to the reader in any one direction. It is so in the choice of a career in life, which is not always determined by a rigid and wise choice, made at once and fully persevered in; but, on the contrary, there may be many false starts, and, occasionally, abrupt changes; still there is such a thing for each man as a career which might be pursued with some method by him, and which would lead to what is called worldly success. So, in reading, it would be folly to attempt to lay down some process by which every man might insure a main course of study for himself; but only let him have a just fear of desultory pursuits, and a wish for mental cultivation, and he may hope at some time or other to discern what it is fittest for him

to do. And if he does not, but pursues any thing with method, there will be some reward for him, if not the highest.

. If we consider what are the objects men pursue, when conscious of any object at all, in reading, they are these: amusement, instruction, a wish to appear well in society, and a desire to pass away time. Now even the lowest of these objects is facilitated by reading with method. The keenness of pursuit thus engendered enriches the most trifling gain, takes away the sense of dulness in details, and gives an interest to what would, otherwise, be most repugnant. No one who has never known the eager joy of some intellectual pursuit, can understand the full pleasure of reading.

In considering the present subject, the advantage to the world in general, of many persons being really versed in various subjects cannot be passed by. And were reading wisely undertaken, much more method and order would be applied to the consideration of the immediate business of the world; and there would be men who might form something of a wise public with regard to the current questions of the day, such as railways, politics, finance, and the condition of Ireland.

It must not be supposed that this choice and maintenance of one or more subjects of study

must necessarily lead to pedantry or narrowness of mind. The Arts are sisters ; Languages are close kindred ; Sciences are fellow workmen : almost every branch of human knowledge is immediately connected with biography ; biography falls into history, which, after drawing into itself various minor streams, such as geography, jurisprudence, political and social economy, issues forth upon the still deeper waters of general philosophy. There are very few, if any, vacant spaces between various kinds of knowledge : any track in the forest, steadfastly pursued, leads into one of the great highways ; just as you often find, in considering the story of any little island, that you are perpetually brought back into the general history of the world, and that this small rocky place has partaken the fate of mighty thrones and distant empires. In short, all things are so connected together, that a man who knows one subject well, cannot, if he would, fail to have acquired much besides : and that man will not be likely to keep fewer pearls who has a string to put them on, than he who picks them up and throws them together without method. This, however, is a very poor metaphor to represent the matter ; for what I would aim at producing, not merely holds together what is gained, but has vitality in itself, is always growing. And anybody will confirm this, who, in his own case, has had any branch of study or human affairs to

work upon ; for he must have observed how all he meets seems to work in with, and assimilate itself to, his own peculiar subject. During his lonely walks, or in society, or in action, it seems as if this one pursuit were something almost independent of himself, always on the watch, and claiming its share in whatever is going on.

Again, by recommending some choice of subject, and method in the pursuit of it, I do not wish to be held to a narrow interpretation of that word "subject." For example, I can imagine a man saying, I do not care particularly to investigate this or that question in history ; I am not going to pursue any branch of science ; but I have a desire to know what the most renowned men have written : I will see what the twenty or thirty great poets have said ; what in various ages has appeared the best expression of the things nearest to the heart and fancy of man. A person of more adventure and more time might seek to include the greatest writers in morals or history. There are not so many of them. If a man were to read a hundred great authors, he would, I suspect, have heard what mankind has yet had to say upon most things. I am aware of the culture that would be required for such an enterprise ; but I merely give it as an instance of what may justly come under the head of the pursuit of one subject, as I mean it, and which certainly would not be called a narrow purpose.

There is another view of reading, which, though it is obvious enough, is seldom taken, I imagine, or at least acted upon; and that is, that in the course of our reading, we should lay up in our minds a store of goodly thoughts in well-wrought words, which should be a living treasure of knowledge always with us, and from which at various times and amidst all the shifting of circumstances, we might be sure of drawing some comfort, guidance, and sympathy. We see this with regard to the sacred writings. "A word spoken in due season, how good is it!" But there is a similar comfort on a lower level to be obtained from other sources than sacred ones. In any work that is worth carefully reading, there is generally something that is worth remembering accurately. A man whose mind is enriched with the best sayings of the poets of his own country, is a more independent man, walks the streets in a town, or the lanes in the country, with far more delight than he otherwise would have; and is taught by wise observers of man and nature, to examine for himself. Sancho Panza with his proverbs is a great deal better than he would have been without them: and I contend that a man has something in himself to meet troubles and difficulties, small or great, who has stored in his mind some of the best things which have been said about troubles and diffi

culties. Moreover, the loneliness of sorrow is thereby diminished.

It need not be feared that a man whose memory is rich in such resources, will become a quoting pedant. Often, the sayings which are dearest to our hearts, are least frequent on our lips; and those great ideas which cheer men in their direst struggles, are not things which they are likely to inflict by frequent repetition upon those they live with. There is a certain reticence with us as regards any thing we deeply love.

I have not hitherto spoken of the indirect advantage of methodical reading in the culture of the mind. One of the dangers supposed to be incident upon a life of study is, that purpose and decisiveness are worn away. Not, as I contend, upon a life of study, such as it ought to be. For, pursued methodically, there must be some, and not a little, of the decision, resistance, and tenacity of pursuit which create, or further, greatness of character in action. Though, as I have said, there are times of keen delight to a man who is engaged in any distinct pursuit, there are also moments of weariness, vexation, and vacillation, which will try the metal in him and see whether he is worthy to understand and master any thing. For this you may observe, that in all times and all nations, sacrifice is needed. The savage Indian who was to obtain

any insight into the future, had to starve for it for a certain time. Even the fancy of this power was not to be gained without paying for it. And was any thing real ever gained without sacrifice of some kind?

There is a very refined use which reading might be put to: namely, to counteract the particular evils and temptations of our callings, the original imperfections of our characters, the tendencies of our age, or of our own time of life. Those, for instance, who are versed in dull crabbed work all day, of a kind which is always exercising the logical faculty and demanding minute, not to say, vexatious criticism, would, during their leisure, do wisely to expatiate in writings of a large and imaginative nature. These, however, are often the persons who particularly avoid poetry and works of imagination, whereas they ought, perhaps, to cultivate them most. For it should be one of the frequent objects of every man who cares for the culture of his whole being, to give some exercise to those faculties which are not demanded by his daily occupations and not encouraged by his disposition.

Hitherto, the inducements I have brought forward for more fixedness of pursuit and soundness of method in reading, have been, many of them, comparatively speaking, worldly and slight

ones. But there are others, which, if well considered, might alone suffice to change at once any habit of thoughtless and purposeless reading. We suppose that we carry our moral nature to another world; why not our intellectual nature;—further, why not our acquirements? Is it probable that a man who has scorned here all advantages for commune with the works of God, is at once to be enlightened as if he had done his duty to the intelligence within him or about him? It may be noticed that, as far as we can discern, the same physical laws govern the most distant parts of creation, as those which prevail here. Moreover, what we call Nature, or Providence, is thrifty as well as liberal—has apparently given to man no more faculty than he fully needs. May not a similar divine frugality—perhaps an essential element for the furtherance of life and the development of energy—pervade creation? These, however, are very serious topics; and I am afraid of being presumptuous in talking about them. But we must remember that there may be presumption in making too little, as well as in making too much, of knowledge. Added to which, and here I am in much less fear of what I say, I have no doubt that sound intellectual culture is in brotherhood with the best moral culture. Accuracy, for instance, is the prose of truth. And there is a humility

which is one of the best things for the mind as well as the soul of man, and may come through either inlet.

At any rate, we cannot be wrong, whether we are professed students, or soldiers, or men of the world, or whatever we are, in endeavoring to make the time we give to books a time not spent unprofitably to ourselves and our fellow-creatures; and this will never be the case, if we are the victims of chance in what we take up to read; if we vacillate forever in our studies, or if we never look for any thing in them, but the ease of the present moment, or the gratification of getting rid of it insensibly.

ELLESMERE. I like that Essay.

DUNSFORD. So do I.

MILVERTON. I knew you would, because you have no need of the advice given in it, both of you being careful readers, and choice in what you read. Indeed Ellesmere carries this to an excess, and so misses reading some of the best works of the day.

ELLESMERE. Yes, but what trash have I not avoided reading! How many works have I escaped the knowledge of, which you would give a great deal to forget! And at least, Milverton, I always read my friends' books, whether they are treatises on labor, tragedies, or the densest political economy.

But to pass from me and my doings to the subject before us. The most important part of it to my mind

is one which you have but lightly alluded to : I mean the advantage which would arise, if the common affairs of the world were studied methodically. As it is, men read a clever article in a newspaper or review, or enter into an animated conversation about some common topic of the day, and then they wait for another clever article or review, or another chance conversation, not bringing any study to bear upon the subject meanwhile. Hence opinions on public affairs are formed by chance ; and statesmen and legislators have a much less enlightened public to appeal to than they might have.

MILVERTON. Very true : and a much less enlightened circle to choose their official men from. An improvement, however, in this respect, is but one of the advantages which would arise from more methodical reading. If there were even but a small part of the public that cared for its own education, many of the works of history which have been addressed to the world, would never have been written so carelessly, or would at once have been found out.

DUNSFORD. Then again, in science, the result of any thing like methodical reading amongst a large number of persons might carry us forward with greatly accelerated rapidity.

When you mention the serious considerations, Milverton, which might induce more wisdom in reading, you should not omit to point out that each man has but a certain limited portion of time and energy in this world ; and surely the knowledge of this fact ought to make us careful in what we give our attention to. We cannot afford to throw it away.

MILVERTON. Men seldom feel as if they were

bounded as to time; they think they can afford to throw away a great deal of that commodity, thus showing unconsciously even in their trifling the sense that they have of their immortality.

ELLESMERE. There is one thing, Milverton, you seem to me to have omitted entirely; namely, that this methodical reading you recommend would insure some digestion of what is read—would necessitate some thinking. You recollect what Hobbes used to say, “that if he had read as many books as other men, he should have been as ignorant as they,” clearly implying that reading is sometimes an ingenious device for avoiding thought.

MILVERTON. Well, I think you might have inferred as much from my Essay.

DUNSFORD. You are quite right, Milverton, in suggesting that we should commit to memory some part of what we like in reading. Now, this very day, as I was coming across the common, perhaps it was that I walked with more difficulty than usual, I bethought me that I was rapidly descending into old age, and the thought was not a pleasant one. It set me, however, about thinking of Cicero’s “De Senectute,” and then to repeating large portions of that beautiful and comforting treatise, not failing at the same time to remember what might have been added by a Christian. Before I reached your house I had forgotten my own little trouble about old age, and was deep in Cicero.

ELLESMERE. You see also, Milverton, that another of your theories holds good in this case, for Dunsford does not attempt to quote upon us his passages of Cicero whether from the passages being too dear to him t

quote, or that he believes, in which he would not be far out, that some of us would be unable to construe them, I leave you to guess.

MILVERTON. Do not you both agree with me in this part where I say, that when a man has some object in study, all things seem to fall in with it?

ELLESMERE. Yes, they do wonderfully.

MILVERTON. I found a curious instance of that the other day. It is in the Manuscripts of Las Casas, in which, giving an account of his conversion to the cause of the Indians, he says of himself, "From the first hour that he (Las Casas) began to dispel the clouds of that ignorance, (his former opinion in favor of Indian slavery,) he never read in Latin or Spanish any book, and the books that he read in forty-four years were infinite in number, in which he did not find either reason or authority to prove and corroborate the justice which those Indian nations had on their side, and to condemn the injustice and evils and injuries which have been done to them."* I copied out the passage, because I thought it would interest you.

ELLESMERE. Yes; I can imagine that the good father found in "the sainted Thomas," for I suppose that was *the* book of those days, many a sentence which seemed written purposely for the behoof of the Indians.

* Desde la primera hora que comenzó á deshechar las tinieblas de aquella ignorancia nunca leyó en libro de latin ó de romance, que fueren en cuarenta y cuatro años infinitos, en que no hallase ó razon ó autoridad para probar y corroborar la justicia de aquellas Indianas gentes, y para condenacion de las injusticias que se les han hecho y males y daños.

DUNSFORD. I think, Milverton, you might have given us some noble quotations from Bacon, or Cicero, about the grandeur and the comfort of study.

MILVERTON. No: if I had given you any thing, it would have been from a more unfrequented source; and if you like, I will do so now, (here Milverton called to his servant, and requested him to bring Hazlitt's Lectures on the Elizabethan Writers.)

ELLESMERE. What a learned young man that servant of yours is! What a profound acquaintance he seems to have with the outsides of books, which after all is the safest and the pleasantest kind of book-knowledge.

MILVERTON. I think you might extend your commendation to a knowledge of the title-pages,—but here he comes with the book. I will read you the passage I alluded to.

“They (books) are the nearest to our thoughts: they wind into the heart; the poet's verse slides into the current of our blood. We read them when young, we remember them when old. We read there of what has happened to others; we feel that it has happened to ourselves. They are to be had everywhere cheap and good. We breathe but the air of books; we owe every thing to their authors on this side barbarism; and we pay them easily with contempt, while living, and with an epitaph, when dead! Michael Angelo is beyond the Alps; Mrs. Siddons has left the stage and us to mourn her loss. Were it not so, there are neither picture-galleries nor theatres-royal on Salisbury-plain, where I write this; but here, even here, with a few old authors, I can manage to get through the summer or the winter

months, without ever knowing what it is to feel ennui. They sit with me at breakfast; they walk out with me before dinner. After a long walk through unfrequented tracts, after starting the hare from the fern, or hearing the wing of the raven rustling above my head, or being greeted by the woodman's 'stern good night,' as he strikes into his narrow homeward path, I can 'take mine ease at mine inn,' beside the blazing hearth, and shake hands with Signor Orlando Friscobaldo, as the oldest acquaintance I have. Ben Jonson, learned Chapman, Master Webster, and Master Heywood, are there; and, seated round, discourse the silent hours away. Shakspeare is there himself, not in Cibber's manager's coat. Spenser is hardly yet returned from a ramble through the woods, or is concealed behind a group of nymphs, fawns, and satyrs. Milton lies on the table, as on an altar, never taken up or laid down without reverence. Lyly's Endymion sleeps with the moon, that shines in at the window; and a breath of wind stirring up at a distance seems a sigh from the tree under which he grew old. Faustus disputes in one corner of the room with fiendish faces, and reasons of divine astrology. Bellafront soothes Matheo. Vittoria triumphs over her judges, and old Chapman repeats one of the hymns of Homer, in his own fine translation! I should have no objection to pass my life in this manner out of the world, not thinking of it, nor it of me; neither abused by my enemies, nor defended by my friends; careless of the future, but sometimes dreaming of the past, which might as well be forgotten."

ELLESMERE. A great many of the gentlemen al-
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luded to by Hazlitt are quite unknown to me, but he has brought out his own feelings so admirably that I do not need to know the particular instances.

Here it was necessary that I should return home, and I accordingly took leave of my friends after arranging to have another meeting soon.

CHAPTER II.

THE next time I came over to Worth Ashton, to meet Ellesmere and to hear a chapter read, it was a mild dull day; and as we had long been looking out for such a day, to go upon the downs, we resolved to take this opportunity; so, after Milverton had let the dogs loose, we all sallied forth. It was our intention to choose for our place of reading some tumuli which are at no great distance from Worth Ashton. We had a good deal of conversation in the course of our walk, which Milverton thus began.

MILVERTON. I have had such trouble to let that dog loose. He seemed to know that we were going out upon the downs, which he greatly approves of; and he was so impatient, that I could not get at his collar to undo it. I thought all the time how like I was to Pope Pius the Ninth, who must have much the same difficulty in keeping his Italians quiet enough for him to free them.

ELLESMERE. That is true, I dare say; but I do not know enough of Italian politics to pronounce any thing about them. However, I can see it is a grand thing to

have a Pope "of some mark and likelihood" in our times. It gives new life to politics.

MILVERTON. And not to politics only.

ELLESMERE. Well, we shall see. These are matters we shall hear much of in our time. Meanwhile, let us drink in some of this delightful air. Look at that ungainly puppy trying to catch the thistle-down as it steals up the hill. What is it? Oh! I see, a seed in the middle, and this feathery stuff round it, so that the seed may be carried hither and thither. Not unlike many a book—one idea in it, and some airy stuff round it, and so it floats along merrily enough.

MILVERTON. Carry out the simile a little further, my critical friend. What animal is it that feeds upon the parent of the thistle-down? Is it a like creature that devours the authors of the books?

DUNSFORD. I think, Ellesmere, you have not gained much by your attack upon Milverton's tribe.

ELLESMERE. I wonder, now, are authors fonder of their books than painters of their pictures?

MILVERTON. I suspect it is not a very lasting fondness, even when it is a fondness in either case. But there is a great difference between the two things.

ELLESMERE. Yes; for in the picture you have the thing actually made by its author, which he touched, which was for a long time in his presence. Let us think of that when we look at a great picture. It is a relic of the great artist. It was one of his household gods for a time.

MILVERTON. I often think what interest there is in a picture, quite independent of its subject, or its merit, or its author. I mean the interest belonging to the

history of it, as a work of some one man's labor. I can imagine he was so joyous in the beginning of it: the whole work was already done, perhaps, in his mind, where the colors are easily laid on, while the canvas yet was white. Then there were the early sketches. He finds the idea is not so easy after all to put on canvas. At last a beginning is made; and then the work proceeds for a time rapidly. How often he draws back from the canvas, approaches it again, looks at it fondly yet wistfully, as a watching mother at a sick child! He is interrupted, tries to be courteous or kind, as the occasion requires, but is delighted when the door closes and leaves him alone with the only creature whose presence he cares much for just now. All day long his picture is with him in the back-ground of his mind. He goes out: the bright colors in the shops, the lines of buildings, little children on the door-steps, all show him something; and when he goes back, he rushes into his painting-room, to expend his fresh vigor and his new insight upon the work of his heart. So it goes on. Let us hope that it prospers. Then there comes a time when the completion of the picture is foreseen by him, when there is not much room for more to be made of it, and yet it is not nearly finished. He is a little weary of it. Observe this, Ellesmere, there is the same thing throughout life, in all forms of human endeavor. These times of weariness need watching. But our artist is patient and plods on. The end of the drama approaches, when the picture is to go into a gilt frame, and be varnished, and hung up—like the hero of a novel upon whom a flood of good fortune is let in at last.

ELLESMERE. Stop here. Do not let us have the "decline and fall" of the picture; when it comes to be a target for children, or subsides into the corner of an old curiosity shop.

MILVERTON. No. Besides, it would not be fair to take the unsuccessful pictures only. How many are delicately cared for and tended in lordly galleries, and hear choice words of praise and nice criticism from the lips of the wise and the beautiful; and are the pets of the world! But the history of any picture before it left the artist's studio, would be enough, if we could know it all, to interest us greatly, even where the picture was but a poor thing—a wish rather than a deed.

ELLESMERE. Let us sit down here.

DUNSFORD. Yes.

ELLESMERE. Get away, Rollo! Did you see that dog nearly upset me, coming to shake hands, as their way is, with his mouth. What was it we were talking about before we sat down? Ah, pictures. I was going to say all the London world now are discussing the designs for the new Houses, and people are very full of suggestions for great historical pictures. There is one comfort, we shall not be troubled with Madonnas. I confess I am wearied with Madonnas. If I were an autocrat I would say, "Let there be no more Madonnas painted: we have had enough of them."

MILVERTON. At the time the great ones were painted, there was a religious intent in the painter and in those for whom he painted, which prevented their looking at a Madonna as a mere work of art. Hence they were not wearied at the repetition.

DUNSFORD. There is one sacred subject which seems to me amongst the most touching, if not the most sublime, that we can imagine. And yet it is not altogether what can be made of it in a picture that I mean. The scene is one for the mind to work out in all its fulness, and soon outstrips whatever even a Rembrandt can give us. It is "the woman taken in adultery." I often picture that scene to myself—the majestic figure of the divine Pardoner: the shrinking, downcast, shame-burnt woman: the crowd of accusers and of unloving bystanders fading away awe-stricken at the hideous phantoms of their own guilt. For then, perhaps, before each man rose his own sin, not as it lies compressed in any one human heart, a little thing, but vast, unmeasured, darkening the way before him. Their murders and their adulteries then appeared to those who thought they knew not the words murder and adultery as touching them: nor did they, as the world knows them. Here stood the man who had been guilty of many things, but whom guilt had not made tolerant. He vanished in affright. Here was the strict, precise, self-righteous man, whose want of charity suddenly made visible to him was an abyss to look into, which fascinated and appalled him. And he wandered away he knew not whither. Here were those who were strong, inasmuch as they had not been tempted: and they saw for a moment their future selves, or what men such as they might come to; and hurried away sick at heart and shuddering, as one belated whom the lightning tells suddenly that he has been walking with heedless unconcern through mountain passes needing by daylight the nicest and the firm-

est footstep. And then I think I see at the edge of the crowd a young girl, who had come, not from malice or ill-will, but with a curious wish to see something of human suffering. And she too moves away like the rest, but not aghast with horror like them, and yet with sorrow, shame, and wailing, in that she had not pitied more.

We were silent for a time, and resumed our walk in silence, nor do I recollect any more of our conversation till after Milverton had read to us the following essay on giving and taking criticism.

ON GIVING AND TAKING CRITICISM.

I scarcely know of any thing more valuable to a man than his opinions and his judgments, or of more importance to others. Whether it is that I myself am very slow to form opinions, or that they really are very difficult to attain, they certainly appear to me great acquisitions. Often, like other acquisitions,—houses, lands, honors, children, money,—these opinions are a great care, and a great trouble; but still they are acquisitions: and it seems to me that any man who wastes his opinions by injudicious scattering, or by throwing them out before they are complete, is a sad spendthrift. And if he

pretends to have opinions and utters remarks that appear like judgments when he has them not, he may remind his hearers somewhat of a coiner and utterer of false money.

I suppose, however, that many of those who criticise much do not opine or judge, but only talk. There is, too, a flow of criticism with some men, like the poetry of improvisatori, neither good nor altogether bad, having no deep meaning or purpose in it, bearing marks of no correction, being something like the talk of parrots, except that it lacks the force which belongs to repetition.

There are two characteristics which I think may be observed in the conduct of those who form opinions substantially for themselves:—These persons are either very reticent about their opinions; for having worked at them, and, perhaps, suffered for them, and knowing, too, how much there is to be said on the other side, it is not play with such people to produce their opinions;—(they would as soon expose their cherished feelings :) or, on the other hand, if they have once expressed these opinions, you are very likely to perceive a constant reference to them; and you find that the holders of opinions thus formed, do not soon tire of them. The formers, therefore, of their own opinions are slow to utter and likely to repeat.

Man's criticism has chiefly had for its objects


the appearances of nature and the characters of other men and their doings. When we think what, for centuries, was the criticism upon nature among people fully equal to ourselves; how they pronounced without the slightest experience upon the gravest matters; how they put words for facts, declaring that bodies descended because it was the nature of bodies to descend, or dicta of that kind; it may occur to us how often in questions of social and political life, and the judgment of character, we may be exercising a similar rashness and indiscretion. When you have an opportunity of looking well into any one human character, you may see meanness and generosity, sensuality and abstinence, softness and ferocity, profound dissimulation and extreme imprudence all mixed up in one man. And I have seen in the same character great sensitiveness, lively appreciation of difficulties and defects, and extreme fastidiousness, joined to the utmost tenacity of purpose—a combination like that of a bull-dog's head to the shivering delicate body of an Italian greyhound. These strangely intermingled characters are then thrown amidst the ever-varying circumstances of life; and we, the bystanders, having a partial view of the circumstances and no conception of the original texture of the character, and judging it by an artificial standard of our own, pronounce opinions formed, perhaps, in the greatest haste,

and in answer to somebody else,—fatal opinions on our fellow-men.

There is one thing which I imagine has much perplexed men in judging of character, and made their judgments often very absurd. I allude to their habit of nice division of qualities and temperaments, about which they talk as if each were a thing by itself, and had not entered into almost indissoluble connection with the rest. For example, I imagine that strength of mind is often accompanied by, perhaps we ought to say, absolutely connected with, strength of passions. The critic takes the life and conduct of a man in whom such a combination exists, and talks of him as if he had had originally the sagacity and the force of mind, but that all the passions were acquired; or vice versâ, gives the passions and makes the judgment acquired; or, at any rate, sees no wholeness in the character. A forcible instance of the kind of character I mean, occurs to me in the person of one of our greatest kings, Henry the Second. In him extreme sagacity and great nobleness of mind were joined with the utmost violence of passion. In reading the history of his reign, we find him, at whatever part of his dominions his presence is wanted, conducting his affairs with the utmost ability, with almost ability enough to counteract the evils which his passions had raised against him. In business, in pleasure, in study, he

would be foremost. Strange to say, he was one of the most prudent men of his time; and his treaties, especially after conquest, are surprising for their moderation. Then we have an account of him on the floor gnawing straws like a maniac, in excess of uncontrollable passion. Such a man, if he has children, is like to have a fierce strange brood like himself; and they will not diminish his troubles or fail to call out all the points of his character. Now what I mean as regards the criticism on such characters, and perhaps on all characters, is that we canvass bit by bit, quality by quality, instead of looking at the whole as a whole. I suspect that what we call Nature is very sparing in giving unqualified good. She lays down a bark of great capacity; soundly and wisely builds it; but then freights it, perhaps, with fierce energies, and leaves it to stormy impulses, which carry it out into the wildest seas; and what the result will be, may depend on a very slight balance of favorable and unfavorable endeavors and influences. Extremely foolish criticism is likely to be uttered by those who are looking at the laboring vessel from the land.

The great deficiencies in criticism throughout all ages have been a deficiency of humility, a lack of charity, and a want of imagination. The absence of humility in critics is something wonderful. The fly on the axle of the chariot



in *Æsop's* fables, though he made a foolish and vain-glorious remark in observing what a dust he raised, was not so absurd as the wren would be, who, perched upon the unconscious eagle, should suppose that he keeps the eagle down, and should talk accordingly. Men who work must expose something to criticism; and the wider and greater their transactions, the more surface there is likely to be exposed. The larger the fortress, the greater the choice of attack. The smaller kind of critics, like ancient Parthians, or modern Cossacks, hover on the rear of a great army, transfix a sentinel, surprise an outpost, harass the army's march, afflict its flight; but they rarely determine the campaign. It hardly becomes them to claim the honors of the steady legionary.

I have said that criticism has very frequently lacked imagination as well as charity and humility. In no respect will this combined deficiency be better perceived than in considering the way in which men persist in commenting upon the works of others from their own peculiar ground and point of view. They will not exercise a charitable imagination, and look at what is done with due regard to the doer's drift and conception. Their own conceits perplex and stultify their judgment.

Of the difference between acting, and criticising action, you will be easily convinced, if you

observe what an immediate change comes over the spirit of those who, having been accustomed to criticise, have suddenly to work in the very vocation which they have been given to criticise. Men called to power from the ranks of opposition, afford a well-known instance of this; but lower down in life, in domestic authority for example, the same phenomenon takes place. He who has been wont to pronounce so fluently upon the defects of another's rule and management, finds, when in power himself, what a different thing it is to act and to talk. His rash and heated judgment is all at once sobered by the weight of responsibility.

We may even go further in this argument, and contend that the functions of doing and criticising are not merely different but oftentimes antagonistic; for you will rarely find that a man given to criticism, does much; and, on the other hand, that the man who does much, has not outgrown the habit of much criticism—at any rate of the ill-natured kind. It is here as elsewhere that those passions and qualities which make us injurious or offensive to our neighbor, react directly upon ourselves. An ill-tempered man often has every thing his own way, and seems very triumphant; but the demon he cherishes tears him as well as awes other people. So, in criticism, he who worries others by injurious or needless remarks, ends in tormenting himself by

a mean and over-solicitous care about his own thoughts and deeds; and perhaps not all the self-inflicted tortures of religious devotees have equalled the misery which men have given themselves up to from remarks of their own about themselves, and imaginary remarks on their conduct by their neighbors.

In speaking of criticism, we must not omit to mention that there is a species of it which may be called needless, as distinguished from that which is intentionally unkind. It is a great mistake to suppose that because words are used logically and may be sensible enough in themselves, that they may nevertheless not come under the description of folly, and be liable to all that Solomon has said against foolish talk: I believe that more breaches of friendship and love have been created, and more hatred cemented, by needless criticism than by any one other thing. If you find a man who performs most of the relations of life dutifully, is even kind and affectionate, but who, you discover is secretly disliked and feared by all his friends and acquaintances, you will often on further investigation ascertain that he is one who indulges largely in needless criticism.

Some considerable part of the troubles and perplexities of each man's mind lies in the en-

durance and digestion of criticism—more too, perhaps, of the criticism by anticipation, which he fancies he hears, or will hear, than from that which is actually addressed to him. Now there are several ways of dealing with any trouble or misfortune. One is, to magnify it. Machiavelli, in his celebrated letter to Vettori, after describing his sordid occupations and the company he keeps, (a lime-kiln man, a butcher, and the landlord of a small country inn,) says, “I develop the malignity of my fortune.” He thought by magnifying it to overcome it. Then there is the stoical way, to ignore misfortune. Then there is the humorous, in which a man pretends, as it were, not to know his misfortune, or will only look at the droll side of it. Then there is the calm and business-like way of dealing with misfortune—to look at it full in the face—measure it carefully and see what good is in it, what can be done with it, and how it can be stowed away.

All the above methods may be applied to the endurance of unkind or thoughtless criticism, which, however, is generally attempted to be dealt with as if it were no evil. But making lighter of an evil than it really is, does not appear to me the safe way to suppress it. Suppose you have done any thing with large expense of labor: written a book which you have really tried to write honestly, built a house, begun to

drain a moss, established a business, led an expedition, or in short done any thing which has cost you thought and toil, abnegation and enterprise of various kinds—which is, indeed, a considerable part of your life: it is no good pretending that hostile and thoughtless criticism upon this work is not a painful thing. Accept it as an unpleasant circumstance; take into fair consideration the injury that it may be. This is far better than saying you do not care at all about such criticism; and yet all the time secretly fretting at it. Several of the works above enumerated depend for their result upon opinion; and it is idle to talk about not caring for opinion in such cases. The plan is, to enlighten yourself about the meaning and force of the opinion in question. If it be sound, and you feel it to be sound, profit by it; you have then counteracted some of the injury, and in this solid gain there should be compensation even for mortified vanity.

But often there is no good to be gained from the criticism: it is empty, ill-natured, untrue; and nobody knows that so well as you who have done the work criticised. This criticism is an unwelcome hindrance and an injury. But here again, what balm there is to be had upon the slightest reflection! This opinion which annoys you so much, is frequently that of one or few. You will be very cool and indifferent about the

whole matter by the time it is rightly judged; I mean even if it is in your lifetime. Then you are to consider that all men who do any thing, must endure this depreciation of their efforts. It is the dirt which their chariot-wheels throw up. You may then further consider that frequently between the doer and the critic there is a span which cannot be bridged over. It is not wise, however, to let your thoughts go far in this direction, lest they become arrogant. But the main comfort under injurious comments of any kind is to look at them fairly, accept them as an evil, and calculate the extent of the mischief. These injurious comments seldom blacken all creation for you. A humorous friend of mine who suffered some time ago under a severe article in the first newspaper in the world, tells me that it was a very painful sensation for the first day, and that he thought all eyes were upon him, (he being a retired, quiet, fastidious person;) but going into his nursery and finding his children were the same to him as usual, and then walking out with his dogs, and observing that they frolicked about him as they were wont to do, he began to discover that there was happily a public very near and dear to him, in which even the articles of the "Times" could make no impression. The next day my poor friend, who by the way was firmly convinced that he was right in the matter in controversy, had become quite

himself again. Indeed he snapped his fingers at leading articles, and said he wished people would write more of them against him.

It may be thought that I have hitherto spoken only, or chiefly, of foolish, indiscreet, or restless criticism; and have omitted to point out the merits of criticism, when well directed. But I am well aware that there is a criticism which may almost be called a religious criticism; which holds out its warnings when multitudes are mad, and when following a multitude to talk nonsense, is much the same thing as following it to do evil. There is also the pious, high-built criticism, which reluctantly points out defects in those works it loves best; and which would be silent if it were too late to be of use. There is the criticism founded upon patient research and studious deliberation, which even if it be given somewhat rudely and harshly, cannot but be useful, and which like the frost thins away the weeds which, but for its kindly nipping, would occupy the air and food wanted for the young plantation of serviceable timber. There is the loving criticism, which explains, elicits, illumines; showing the force and beauty of some great word or deed which, but for the kind care of the critic, might remain a dead letter or an inert fact; teaching the people to understand and to admire what is admirable.

There is the every-day criticism of good handy men, which is but a stepping back to look at their own and others' labors, and is the fair judgment on their joint work by a worker.

Lastly, there is the silent criticism of example, worth all the rest.

ELLESMERE. What a scandalous shame it is—(don't look so astonished, Milverton, I am not talking of the essay)—what a scandalous shame it is, I say, that we should use the word puppy as we do! I have been watching our young friend there: up he flies at Rollo's ear, Rollo gives him a shake, tumbles him over, and away he goes rolling down the mound. He waddles up directly, commences his attack again, and is sent about his business in the same way. But he is not to be daunted. Now what a shame to make such a noble creature's name a term of reproach!

MILVERTON. Be comforted, Ellesmere; I dare say old dogs, when they have a more than usually tiresome puppy to scold, call it "young man," in their language.

DUNSFORD. I say it is a scandalous shame that you two should be talking such nonsense when there is so much to be said about the essay.

ELLESMERE. Now, my dear Dunsford, if you think that I have hurried down by the express train this hot day to talk sense, and do criticism, you must be undeceived forthwith. Besides, what is the good of listening to essays or sermons, or moral discourses of any kind, without attempting to act in some accordance with them? After receiving this "heavy blow and great

discouragement" to inconsiderate criticism in general, would it become me to be blurting out my poor thoughts and picking an essay to pieces which orders me to pick nothing to pieces without good reason, and desires me, the critic, (not that there was any need in my particular case,) to stand hat in hand before the writer, the maker of any work. For to-day I will be of Hamlet's mind, and consider that even praise may be arrogant.

DUNSFORD. Where does Hamlet say that?

ELLESMERE. He intimates something of the kind, when Osric brings the news of the king's wager.

Osric. You are not ignorant of what excellence Laertes is—

Hamlet. I dare not confess that, lest I should compare with him in excellence.

MILVERTON. I am not altogether sorry to be exempt from Ellesmere's criticism to-day: though, to tell the truth, I rather distrust our friend's sudden modesty, Dunsford.

ELLESMERE. You may take it another way if you please. There is the silent criticism of silence, worth all the rest. But if you want to know what I really have been thinking about during the reading, I will tell you; and my thoughts, though you will hardly see how, grew out of the reading in a distant way, and out of thinking where we are and what these mounds contain.

DUNSFORD. In 1837 there was—

ELLESMERE. Yes, yes, I suppose some one has routed into these mounds; but, please, do not tell me about it: I do not want to know. I can imagine that here were huddled together the bodies of brave men

and some of their rude implements of war : and other men, as brave mayhap, who fell around here the kites fed upon ; and the army marched on ; and there was mourning on this side and rejoicing on that ; and men missed their comrades for a few days ; and these were at rest. Well, I thought of such things : and then I wondered what they made of life in those ages : and then I returned to present times ; and thought of our chief modern men ; and you will both be pleased to find that those I thought of were amongst your author and artist tribe.

DUNSFORD. Well, that is a redeeming point in this vague thinking of yours.

ELLESMERE. You know, Milverton, your clan have always received me kindly ; and, indeed, I was fortunate enough, when a younger man, to know some of the great people of old. But to come to the substance of what I was going to say, I thought that these people, though they were excellent company, (they ought to be, their knowledge is more extensive and various, and in general better arranged than that of other men,) yet that they were a sad-hearted race—at least many of them were. And then I thought to myself ought this to be ? These men, according to our theory, get nearer to the meaning of many things. Is that meaning a sad one ? Is the great “ open secret ” of the world a grievous thing ? You, I know, Dunsford, imagine my thoughts to be a mass of unreasoning and somewhat hopeless skepticism ; but I must say, at the risk of gaining some of your good opinion, that I cannot but believe that the nearer we could get to this inner meaning I have been talking of, the more comfort and joy

we should find. I venture to suspect that Solomon was melancholy rather than wise, when he pronounced that Wisdom is sorrow. But it jars upon one to find that men who seem to know so much, do not make a better thing of it, themselves. These may be commonplace thoughts; but there you have what I was thinking about instead of criticising.

MILVERTON. Supposing that what you say is a fair statement of facts, there are many ways of accounting for it. The original constitution of men of genius, for it is of such, I suppose, that you are talking, may be unfavorable to joy. Though, after all, I question whether there are any persons who can be so jovial. Well, then, mental toil is the greatest of toil; and naturally undermines that health which, we know, is a needful element for comfort and joy. Then a man cannot serve two masters; and consequently the worldly relations of men of genius, as of statesmen absorbed in State affairs, are very apt to become a torment to them. I do not say this as any excuse for the irregularities, as they are called, of men of genius. But it is a fact. Almost any worldly state in which a man can be placed is a hindrance to him if he have other than mere worldly things to do. Poverty, wealth, many duties, or many affairs distract and confuse him. No affairs, no distresses, no ties leave him uneducated in the most important knowledge he can have. Then, again, though this is a difficult and dangerous subject to enter upon, men of genius have been apt to make a sad business of some of their domestic relations. Moreover, there is often a great deal in their ways of going on that provokes disesteem in those around them.

They are simple, child-like,—worldly wise and worldly foolish. Their foolishness is understood. They see further than those around them, but it is into a region where the others have no view, and, therefore, do not believe in the country—thinking it entirely cloud-land. While, in the near region, though the former understand that too and its just place and proportion, yet as it must be all in all to them to be thoroughly managed by them, and as they will not suffer it to be all in all, but rather depreciate it perhaps, they often miss even the proper hold of it. And for all these and many other reasons (for I do not see where we should end, if we were to go minutely into this matter) they sooner meet with the imperfections of sympathy; and find out earlier than other men that man is only partially understood, or pitied, or loved, by man; but for the fullness of these things he must go to some far-off country. And here philosophy and experience are permitted to enter into the track of piety and have their thoughts, too, of how good a thing it must be for the soul to be with God.*

* Talking once with Milverton upon the same subject, he said that train of thought was based on something in Emerson's essay on Love. The following must be the passage:—

"But we are often made to feel that our affections are but tents of a night. Though slowly and with pain, the objects of the affections change, as the objects of thought do. There are moments when the affections rule and absorb the man, and make his happiness dependent on a person or persons. But in health the mind is presently seen again,—its over-arching vault, bright with galaxies of immutable lights, and the warm loves and fears that swept over us as clouds, must lose their

ELLESMERE. There is something in all this; but of course I did not make my remark with an utter forgetfulness of these things.

MILVERTON. I meant to begin with the more obvious part of the matter, which, however, ought not to be neglected. Now, here is a view that perhaps you have not thought of. You see some great result come from a man's work, and you conclude justly enough that there are power and insight in that man. That is the main thing which is before you in thinking of him. Then you wonder his gifts do not do more. You want them to lift him up altogether. But is it unreasonable to imagine that there may sometimes be proportion in natural gifts—for instance, that where there is great sagacity there may be great passions; that, in short, where there are great powers there may be great inherent drawbacks. I am but repeating what I have said in other words in the essay.

ELLESMERE. Yes, there is something in this. I think, however, I had in my mind men whose insight had not had much odds to contend against, but still who seem to have progressed into sadness.

MILVERTON. The traveller may come into a fine country which fills his heart with consolation, if not with joy; but he himself remains, at least for a time, travel-worn, travel-stained, with eyes that have not lost

finite character, and blend with God, to attain their own perfection. But we need not fear that we can lose any thing by the progress of the soul. The soul may be trusted to the end. That which is so beautiful and attractive as these relations, must be succeeded and supplanted only by what is more beautiful, and so on forever."

the anxious watching look of one accustomed to lie down at night in peril.

ELLESMERE. Oh I am no match for you, if you once get amongst metaphors. It is your trade. A plain man like me, who has to address plain men, like Lord Chancellors and judges, cannot ascend with these flights of yours.

MILVEERTON. There are subjects the truth of which can never be so well brought out as by the aid of metaphors. Metaphors give body and circumstance to things which could not be adequately represented if discussed in cold though precise terms.

ELLESMERE. Good—that's true, I dare say. However, I still venture to think, that metaphors have done at least as much harm by introducing falsehood as they have by representing truth. But you have made a good plea, and you may indulge in as many metaphors as you like. Proceed.

MILVEERTON. Then, too, if it be not too bold to say so on behalf of any men, may there not be something vicarious in the sufferings of men of genius? Again, the work before them sits heavy and grievous on their minds. Moreover, when you talk of their wisdom and what you extract from it, though I admit the difference between a wise man, or a man of genius, and a fool is colossal to us, yet you must recollect, that as measured against the great verities it is engaged with, it may be very, very small indeed.

DUNSFORD. We cannot keep that too much in mind: and I would say, though you may both think it common-place, that the wisdom or insight you have

been talking of, may be that which the Scriptures call foolishness.

ELLESMERE. I have had in my thoughts, Dunsford, religious men, or what we consider such, as well as others.

MILVERTON. Then another thing, we know so little of men, that we can hardly judge of their moods. I was very much struck the other day with a quotation from Seneca, which was in the margin of one of these old Spanish historians I am looking into just now. "*Levis est dolor qui capere consilium potest.*"

ELLESMERE. That is a good deal deeper than Seneca used to go in my time, when I looked into him.

DUNSFORD. Having to do with Nero would make a man think deeply upon some subjects—especially upon concealed griefs and fears.

MILVERTON. But, to go back to our subject, for I have more to say yet. I question whether even men of genius have ever suffered more than dull men, or merely clever men, with one idea which has sunk under them—a small ambitious man, for instance, utterly unsuccessful in his schemes, or a man set on one affection which turns out ill. Genius is multiform and artistic; it twines beautiful garlands round the images of past hopes, knowing all the time, as well as other men, that it is only adorning what is lifeless.

DUNSFORD. This world is a world of trial, not of completion and attainment in any way. You expect more of clear and distinct gain than you ought, Ellesmere.

MILVERTON. I somehow fancy we are a little

wrong in our general notions about this world being a place of trial; I would rather, if I might say so, call it a place of education, of continuous creation, than of trial. It may not be, as we sometimes pronounce, that life, the life of souls, is sent here to see what will become of it, to see whether it is good or bad, but to form it and further it; in accordance with which, it may be, (as the author of "the Natural History of Enthusiasm" would say,)* that all are getting the fittest education for them. The hardest criminal, for instance; what can subdue him into humanity like the having committed crime? It may be, too, that men take their gains with them. A man's insight (what little he can get) may not, therefore, be unprofitable to him, Ellesmere, or be otherwise than insight, though it cannot be expressed in joy and serenity here. However this may be, I think it is, perhaps, nearer the truth to look upon this world as one of education than of trial.

ELLESMERE. Also a world to live in. It has a substantive existence of its own, which we should make what we can of. It does not become us to de-

* This is doubtless the passage which Milverton had in his mind:

"The world of nature affords no instances of complicated and exact contrivances, comparable to that which so arranges the vast chaos of contingencies as to produce, with unerring precision, a special order of events adapted to the character of every individual of the human family. Amid the whirl of myriads of fortuities, the means are selected and combined for constructing as many independent machineries of moral discipline as there are moral agents in the world; and each apparatus is at once complete in itself, and complete as part of a universal movement."

preciate time present too much. Here we are, with a great deal to look upon, and use, and understand, if we can.

MILVERTON. Yes; it is a part of education, and not the least, to deal with the present steadily and healthily.

DUNSFORD. How very few, for example, make a tithe of what they might out of the every-day beauty of nature. They come crying to it sometimes, and asking for peace and repose from it.

MILVERTON. I quite agree with you, if you mean that few of us enjoy enough the beauty we ought to see every day about us, and which should go to form the substance of our day's delight. But I doubt whether the contemplation of inanimate nature will do for us what poets sometimes imagine it will in the way of soothing. To look upon nature, to get into the forest or out upon the moor, is no doubt a delightful escape from the teasing ways of man. But there is, perhaps, an aching of the heart as well as soothing in much contemplation of still life. Where I think there is most consolation, is in the immensity of creation, in the vigor and pertinacity of life: the most wounded heart, considering these things, can throw its griefs into the vast mass of life, see that there are other things besides it, have an impression that there is a scheme of creation large enough to answer all the demands of vexed imagination. Herein, I think, the results of science minister much comfort to the mind.

ELLESMERE. Some of us, speaking so coldly of still life, hardly deserve, I think, to look over these beautiful downs.

MILVERTON. Let us not mind that, if we can in any way deserve to look up at the stars sometimes. But we must be moving homewards, unless we mean to find our way by star-light: and even now I think I see some "bright particular" stars that will not wait for darkness to be somewhat seen. Ah, beautiful creations! it is not in guiding us over the seas of our little planet, but out of the dark waters of our own perturbed minds, that we may make to ourselves the most of your significance.

We returned home, not sorry to be mostly silent as we went, and glad that our friendship was so assured that we could be silent, without the slightest danger of offence.

CHAPTER III.

To enable my readers to understand this chapter, I must first trouble them with some domestic circumstances. Whether it was from our excursion to the downs, mentioned in the last chapter, or from some other cause, I do not know, but at this time I became so unwell as to be unable to leave my room. It would have been a great deprivation to me not to know something about the conversation before and after Milverton's next reading, so I resolved to send over to Worth Ashton one who might take my place and bring me some account of what was said.

My home is graced by the presence of my sister, Mrs. Daylmer, and her daughter Lucy. Daylmer and I were fellow-collegians and intimate friends, and our friendship led to a union between the families. Men of my standing may recollect what a scholar Daylmer was; and though it is a trivial thing to recall, yet some may remember a translation of his into Latin Alcaics of that magnificent chorus in the "Antigone" about love,* which translation made

* *Ἔπος ἀνίκτου πόθου*.—Soph. Ant., v. 781.

some noise amongst us when we were freshmen. Daylmer died young, leaving some few results of his scholarship, which yet remain with me in manuscript. Ever since his death my sister and my niece have lived with me. My sister manages the house for me, and does not leave me much to do as regards the management of myself. But I must not complain, as it is a great thing to be loved and cared for by anybody; and then, too, my sister (her name is Marian) is always so right and reasonable, as she proves to me that what I want now is inconsistent with what I wanted on some other occasion, or would not do for me upon some former showing of mine, or would not be proper with my position in the parish. Somehow I seem to walk between walls which I am said to have helped to build myself. I should rather like to look into the open country sometimes. However, Marian is a good creature, and totally unconscious of wishing to manage any one. I do not know what I should do without her. Did she ever look into a book, I would not say all that I have just said, but it is quite confidential with the public.

My niece Lucy is my darling. I have educated her myself. I hope I have not done unwisely, but I have taught her Greek; for I thought she should know something of the study in which her father excelled, and be able to form some notion of his great powers of criticism. We

often talk of him, and I think we are able to do this much better as she knows more of what were his favorite studies.

Lucy has long been a great favorite of Milverton's; and in former days (for he had then too the same theory he has given us in his essay on education, of the advantage of some training for women that should sternly exercise the reason) he essayed, I recollect, to teach her Euclid, which, considering he expected the most unreasonably swift apprehension and progress, went off very well. I knew he would not take it ill, if I sent her over in my place; and that she would bring me back some report of the conversation. In this she seems to have succeeded very well.

Milverton and Ellesmere were already out upon the lawn expecting me, when Lucy and her mother entered the gate at Worth Ashton.

ELLESMERE. This is an honor, Miss Daylmer. "Gratior it dies." Latin is not rude in the presence of learned young ladies, you know.

MILVERTON. I hope, Mrs. Daylmer, there is nothing the matter with Dunsford.

MRS. DAYLMER. He is not well, I am sorry to say, and so sends Lucy to pick up what she can for him of your talk to bring back and amuse him with. I know you gentlemen will not care to have me with you: so I will go and chat with Phœbe, and see the new dairy. How can you both be so foolish as to be lying on the grass, as you were when we came in? That is, I am

sure, the way in which my brother gets ill, and I shall not allow him to come over, if you don't take more care of him.

ELLESMERE. My good Mrs. Daylmer, if some twenty years ago you had kept our friend out of the Combination Room at —— College, it might have been more to the purpose; for my opinion is that it is the gout and nothing else which—

LUCY. No, Mr. Ellesmere, my uncle says not.

ELLESMERE. I know he does not choose to call it by that name. I do not see why not. I always thought it was very respectable in the country to have the gout. But we have a long chapter before us, as I see from that solemn bulk of paper, and so we must not talk any more just now. You do not know, Miss Daylmer, what you have before you to endure, or you would have preferred to have had, yourself, a fit of the gout—at least such a fit as would not have prevented you from going to a dance the next day.

MILVERTON. Do not be frightened, Lucy; the subject for to-day's reading shall not be very terrific in the way of dulness; but shall rather touch on matters which any lady may like to consider, and the regulation of which lies entirely within her province.

ELLESMERE (muttering to himself). "The suckling of fools," an essay by Leonard Milverton; "The chronicling of small beer," an historical attempt by John Ellesmere. I am merely running over in my mind the catalogue of essays we keep by us, Miss Daylmer, for the edification of our female friends, when they are good enough to honor our readings with their presence.

MILVERTON. It is on the "art of living."

ELLESMERE. Oh, I had forgotten to mention that essay, *Miss Daylmer*; that is, our essay on cookery—the one we always begin with in reading to ladies; as Milverton said, “entirely within their province.” I wish they paid more attention to it; but people seldom do attend to things within their province.

MILVERTON. Do not mind his impertinence, Lucy.

LUCY. I am keeping my attention, Mr. Milverton, for what I am sure I shall like better than even Mr. Ellesmere’s witty sayings. Pray do not let us detain you from beginning.

Mr. Milverton then read the following essay.

ON THE ART OF LIVING.

It has often occurred to me to think how inappropriate is the eulogy of the moralist, or the preacher, on the life of the rich and powerful, when for the sake of contrast it is set up as if it were the height of human success, at least in the way in which it professes to succeed. You would think, to hear a preacher of this kind, that the lives of people in the upper classes were something really comfortable, genial, and beautiful. To be sure, he intimates that all this joy and beauty is likely to be paid for by some dire equivalent hereafter; but of its existence here he entertains no doubt. To me, on the contrary, since my first entrance into society, the life of

those who are considered to be the most highly favored by the god of this world has always appeared poor, mean, joyless, and in some respects even squalid.

The cottage of a poor man is certainly a sad affair to contemplate. Should an average specimen of this kind of building of our date be dug up hereafter, when the world has largely improved in these things, (if it does,) this cottage will not give a very exalted idea of the civilization of the nineteenth century. But then, considering the narrowness of means of the owner, (for life, except with considerable dexterity and knowledge, cannot be made very beautiful, on an income varying from six shillings to twelve shillings a week,) this cottage is not so bad. Its defects are negative, whereas the new-built house of a rich man often exemplifies a career of blunders.

Not only where masses of men are congregated together, but even in mansions built in solitary places, the provisions for pure air, for water, and for the means of cleanliness of all kinds, are defective and absurd; and even amongst the most practical people in the world, science is but beginning to be wedded to the arts of life. I think it may also be observed that, independently of those errors committed with regard to scientific matters, such as change of air, maintenance of warmth, and the supply of light,

there is also a singular inaptitude of means to ends, which prevails generally throughout the human aids and appliances for living—I mean dress, houses, equipages, and household furniture. The causes of this unsuitableness of means to ends lie very deep in human nature and in the present form of human society. I attribute them chiefly to the imitative nature of the great bulk of mankind and to the division of labor, which latter practice being carried to a great extent in every civilized State, renders a man expert in his own business, but timid even in judging of what he has not to make, but only to use. The result is, I believe, that more than half of what we do to procure good, is needless or mischievous: in fact, that more than half of the labor and capital of the world is wasted: in savage life, by not knowing how to compass what is necessary; in civilized life, by the pursuit of what is needless.

It is almost impossible to attribute too much effect to this quality of imitativeness, as most men rule their wants by next to no thought of their own, but simply by what they see around them. To give examples: there are very few cities, for instance, in the world where it would be more convenient to have porches, or covered entrances to the houses, than in London. There cannot well be a city more devoid of such things. Again, there can hardly be a more effectual ar-

rangement for producing a rapid influx of cold air than a modern carriage; indeed it is constructed in every way upon wrong principles. A person going to buy such a thing would be glad to have ventilation without draught, to have a carriage roomy and yet light; but he is shown what is the fashion and adopts it. Dress furnishes a still more striking illustration of imitation carried to an extreme. Here, at the sacrifice of comfort, time, and money, we follow the schemes of vanity and ugliness; and adopt permanently what were the fleeting notions of some of the most foolish of mankind. I can imagine that some of my readers, who have never thought upon these subjects, would contest the point as regards the above instances; but I will give others which they cannot contend against.

Upon some occasion in former days, perhaps upon a sudden attack of a town, the great clock of the place, which they were probably putting up or mending, was left with one hand. This you would have imagined would have been considered a defect, and would have been remedied the first time the town became quiet. But no; like many other things, not having been finished at the time it was begun, it remained unfinished; after remaining long in that state, people began to think that this defect was intentional; some foolish person imitated it; in the race of folly there are always many runners, and the result in

this particular case is, that there are scores of clocks set up in public places, which exercise the patience and the ingenuity of the hurried and vexed spectator, who, if he has good eyesight and some power of calculating, may make an approximation to the time which the two hands would have told him accurately at once. Another instance occurs to me of a similar kind. There is a large and increasing portion of the human species, who have to make constant reference to dictionaries. Now, there are two instances in the alphabet of two consecutive letters, which were in former times one letter. The words beginning with these letters are often still arranged as if they belonged to one letter. Hence, there constantly arises a confusion in those parts of the dictionary alluded to, which I will venture to say has cost every studious person much loss of time and some loss of temper, (for study does not always render the temper impregnable,) and which loss of time and temper they may attribute entirely to the unwise imitateness which has led one maker of dictionaries to follow another maker of dictionaries in confounding his I's and his J's, his U's and his V's, just as one sheep succeeds another in jumping needlessly over some imaginary obstacle.

Another instance occurs to me. Travellers tell us that there is a nation very wise and thoughtful in many matters, who, nevertheless,

choose to have all their most important documents (such, for example, as those used in the conveyance of land) written upon leaves of such extent that you can hardly hold them in both hands, and all along in one line, so that it is very difficult to go from line to line down the page. It is curious, however, to notice how injured humanity protects itself; for these documents are written in such jargon, and so many unnecessary words are put in, that it does not much matter whether you do skip a line, or not, in attempting to go regularly down the page. This people is very skilful in building boats, and is perpetually trying improvements in that art; but as regards these wide pages of jargon, no race can be more contemptibly imitative and conservative of wrong.

The above have chiefly been physical instances of the ill effects of imitation as regards the art of living; yet these are but trifling. Men might live with very foolish furniture around them, with very ill-arranged dictionaries and worse grammars, with very ridiculous equipages, with absurdly ill-built houses, noisy and smoky, mostly of one pattern, and that a bad one, nay even in an ill-ventilated town, where every form of disease is rising up and curling about them, which fortunately they do not see: in the midst of all this, men might live happily, if all were well in

their social relations and social intercourse; if they had found out the art of living in these important respects. But, as it is, how poor a thing is social intercourse! How often in society a man goes out from interested or vain motives, at most unseasonable hours, in very uncomfortable clothes, to sit or stand in a constrained position, inhaling tainted air, suffering from great heat, and his sole occupation or amusement being to talk—only to talk! I do not mean to say that there are not delightful meetings in society, which all who were present at remember afterwards, where the party has been well chosen, the host and hostess genial, (a matter of the first necessity,) where wit has been kind as well as playful, where information has known how to be silent as well as how to speak, where good-humor to the absent as well as to the present has assured the company that they were among good people, where ostentation has gone away to some more gilded rooms, and where a certain feeling of regard and confidence has spread throughout the company, so that each man has spoken out from his heart. But these are sadly rare; they are days, as the Romans would say, to be marked with chalk; and it would not fatigue any man to mark those which he himself has experienced. The main current of society is very dreary and dull, and not the less so for its

restlessness. The chief hindrances to its improvement are of a moral nature, and may be placed under the following heads.

These hindrances to the pleasure and profit of society (and by society I do not mean the society of the great world, as we call it, but the humblest and smallest reunions down to the domestic circle)—these hindrances may be thus enumerated: want of truth, vanity, shyness, imitation, foolish concern about trifles, want of faithfulness to society, which leads to repetition and publicity, habits of ridicule, and puritanical notions.

I began my list with want of truth, which I have always contended is as fatal, if not more so, to enjoyment as it is to business. From want of the boldness which truth requires, people are driven into uncongenial society, into many modes of needless and painful ostentation, and into various pretences, excuses, and all sorts of vexatious dissimulation. The spirit of barter is carried into the amusements and enjoyments of life; and, as in business, the want of truth prevents you often from knowing what the person you are dealing with really wishes and means, so in pleasure, you are equally unable to know whether you are gratifying others; and you offer what is not wanted and what you do not wish to offer, to one who accepts it only from the fear of giving offence to you.

Shyness comes next in our catalogue, for I

believe if most young persons were to tell us what they had suffered from shyness upon their entrance into society, it would well deserve to be placed next to want of truth as a hindrance to the enjoyment of society. Now, admitting that there is a certain degree of graceful modesty mixed up with this shyness, very becoming in the young, there is at the same time a great deal of needless care about what others think and say. In fact it proceeds from a painful egotism, sharpened by needless self-examinations and foolish imaginations, in which the shy youth or maiden is tormented by his or her personality, and is haunted by imagining that he or she is the centre of the circle—the observed of all observers. The great cause of this shyness is not sufficiently accustoming children to society, or making them suppose that their conduct in it is a matter of extreme importance, and especially in urging them from their earliest youth by this most injurious of all sayings, If you do this or that, what will be said, what will be thought of you?—thus referring the child, not to religion, not to wisdom, not to virtue, not even to the opinion of those whose opinion ought to have weight, but to the opinion of whatever society he may chance to come into. I often think that the parent, guardian, or teacher, who has happily omitted to instil this vile prudential consideration, or enabled the child to resist it,

even if he, the teacher, has omitted much good advice and guidance, has still done better than that teacher or parent who has filled the child to the brim with good moral considerations, and yet has allowed this one piece of arrant worldliness to creep in. We are now, however, only considering its injurious effect as regards the enjoyment of society, which nobody can doubt.

I have spoken of vanity as one of the moral hindrances to the pleasure and profit to be derived from society. There is a certain degree of vanity which, often accompanying good animal spirits, prompts a man to endeavor to please and to shine in society; but any considerable extent of vanity is likely to be injurious to the peace of society. Under the influence of this passion, a man demands much, gives little, is easily offended, apt to be dishonest in conversation, and altogether is so prone to be small-minded, restless, and unjust, that I think vanity must be looked upon as a great hindrance to the welfare of social intercourse.

I come now to foolish concern about trifles—a besetting error in highly civilized communities. In these societies there are many things, both physical and intellectual, which are outwardly complete, highly polished and varnished; much too is in its proper place, and corresponds with what it ought to correspond to,

“Grove nods to grove, each alley has its brother,”

that at last there comes a morbid excitement to have every little thing and circumstance square and neat, which neither nature nor man will allow. Hence the pleasure of visits and entertainments, and in general the plans and projects of social intercourse, are at the mercy of small accidents, absurd cares, and trifling offences. When this care for small things is combined with an intense fear of the opinion of others, a state of mind is generated which will neither allow the possessor of it to be happy in himself, or herself, nor permit those about him or her to enjoy any peace or comfort for long. It is of course a pre-eminent hindrance to the blessing of social intercourse.

The next hindrance I shall mention is one rarely commented upon, but which I maintain to be very important—want of faithfulness to society. A man should consider that in whatever company he is thrown, there are certain duties incident upon him in respect of that association. The first of these is reticence about what he hears in that society. We see this as regards the intercourse of intimate friends. If your friend in a quiet walk with you were to tell you of some of his inner troubles and vexations, you would not consider yourself at liberty to mention these things in general society the next day. So, in all social intercourse, there is an implied faithfulness of the members of the so-

ciety, one to another ; and if this faithfulness were well maintained, not only would a great deal of pain and mischief be prevented, but men knowing that they were surrounded by people with a nice sense of honor in this respect, would be more frank and explicit in all they said and did. As it is, a thoughtful and kind-hearted man is often obliged to make his discourse very barren, lest it should be repeated to a circle for whom it was not intended, by whom it could not be understood, and who can rarely have before them the circumstance which led to its being uttered. The fault of indiscreet publication is very prevalent in the present day ; and has, I have no doubt, thrown a general constraint over all communications, personal or by letter, amongst those very persons with whom unconstrained communication would be most valuable.

I pass to another hindrance to the well-being of social intercourse, namely, the habit of ridicule. There is a light, jesting, flippant, unkind mode of talking about things and persons very common in society, exceedingly different from wit, which stifles good conversation and gives a sense of general hostility rather than sociability, —as if men came together chiefly for the purpose of ridiculing their neighbors and of talking slightly about matters of great concern. I am not sure that this conduct in society is not a result rather than a cause,—a result of vanity,

want of truth, want of faithfulness, and other hindrances which we have been considering. It certainly bespeaks a lamentable want of charity, and shows that those who indulge in it are sadly ignorant of the dignity of social intercourse, and of what a grand thing it might be.

Lastly, there is the want of something to do besides talking, which must be put down as one of the greatest drawbacks to the pleasantness, as well as usefulness, of social intercourse. Puritanical notions have gone some way in occasioning this want, by forbidding many innocent or indifferent amusements. But I suspect that anybody who should study human nature much, would find that it was one of the most dangerous amusements to bring people together to talk who have but little to say. The more variety men have in their amusements the better; and I confess that I am one of those who think that games are often very good instructors of mankind, and as little mischievous as any thing else they do.

But this consideration of the want of something to do besides talking, leads naturally to that branch of the art of living which is connected with accomplishments. In this we have hitherto been singularly neglectful; and our poor and arid education has often made time hang heavy on our hands, given opportunity for scandal, occasioned domestic dissension, and prevented the

just enjoyment we should have had of the gifts of nature. More large and general cultivation of music, of the fine arts, of manly and graceful exercises, of various minor branches of science and natural philosophy, will, I am persuaded, enhance greatly the pleasure of society, and mainly in this, that it will fill up that want of something to do besides talking, which is so grievously felt at present. A group of children, with their nursery chairs as playthings, are often able to make a better and pleasanter evening of it than an assembly of fine people in London, where nobody has any thing to do, where nothing is going on but vapid conversation, where the ladies dare not move freely about, and where a good chorus, a childish game, or even the liberty to work or read, would be a perfect godsend to the whole assembly. This, however, is but a very small part of the advantage and aid to the art of living which would flow from a greatly widened basis of education in accomplishments, and what are now deemed minor studies. I am persuaded that the whole of life would be beautified and vivified by them; and one great advantage which I do not fear to repeat, though I have urged it two or three times before in different places, is, that from this variety of cultivation various excellences would be developed in persons whose natures, not being suitable for the few things cultivated and rewarded

at present, are thick with thorns and briers, and present the appearance of waste land; whereas if sown with the fit seed and tended in a proper manner, they would come into some sort of cultivation, would bring forth something good, perhaps something which is excellent of its kind. Such people, who now lie sunk in self-disrespect, would become useful, or ornamental, and therefore genial; they would be an assistance to society instead of a weight upon it.

Another great matter as regards the art of living is the art of living with inferiors. A house may be ever so well arranged for domestic and social comfort, the principal inmates of it well-disposed and accomplished people, their circumstances of life felicitous; yet if there is a want of that harmony which should extend throughout every house, embracing all the members of the household, there is an under-current of vexation sufficient to infect and deaden all the above-named advantages. To obviate this, is one of the great difficulties of modern life, a difficulty not only great in itself but largely aggravated by mismanagement for many generations. In dealing with servants, we have to deal with some of the worst-educated people in the country—not only ill-instructed for the peculiar functions they have to undertake, but ill-educated both in mind and soul, and having all the insubordination of

extreme ignorance. This will improve, however; and perhaps one of the greatest rewards the rich will enjoy for having of late years encouraged and facilitated education amongst the poor, will arise from their being furnished with a wiser, more amiable, and therefore more governable set of dependants. The duties of masters, too, are often most inadequately fulfilled, so that a man who wishes to act rightly in this respect, often finds that he has to work upon bad material which has already been badly treated. Still, with all these disadvantages, it is surprising how much may be done with servants by firmness, kindness, geniality, and just familiarity. Under the head of kindness I should particularly wish to include full employment. The master who keeps one servant more than he has absolutely need for, is not only a mischief to society, but is unkind to that servant and to all his fellow-servants; for what is more cruel to a vacant mind than to leave it half-employed.

A master such as I would have him, should not only exercise passive kindness but active kindness towards his servants, should interest himself in their relationships, partake their hopes and fears, be watchful to provide amusements for them, and should look upon them as his children once or twice removed. Instances of ingratitude and intractability, partial defeats as well as partial successes, such a man will be

sure to meet with ; but at any rate, he will have done his best to produce that harmony in his household which, viewed merely with regard to the enjoyment of life, must be looked upon as one of the most desirable attainments in the art of living.

It may be thought that in the course of this essay the ends proposed have not been very great, and that too much mention has been made of such words as enjoyment. But at least the means proposed have not been ignoble ones ; and I am convinced that in the furtherance of the art of living, true enjoyment would be often found to march hand in hand with economy, with truth, and especially with kindness and thoughtfulness for those around us. Benevolent people of the present day are constantly investigating the life of the poorer classes, in order to make it more comely, more dignified, more enjoyable. There is no doubt that much may be done in this direction ; but I contend that the standard of what is beautiful in living requires to be raised generally, and it seems to me that the life of the poor will not be well arranged, while that of so many of the rich remains vapid, insincere, unenjoyable, and unadorned.

ELLESMERE. I agree with you in all you have said in dispraise. The many failures of civilized life make

one long for something more free and wider, and would prove one of the main incentives to colonization, except that people find out the insipidity of civilized life when they are too stiff and rooted to think of going to a young colony. I was quite surprised the other day to find even in such a writer as Sydney Smith, who, I should have imagined, would have been pretty well satisfied with the present state of things in our old world, a sentence or two intimating that he conceived how people might go into distant climes to get rid of some of the nuisances of civilization,—a passage, in fact, which reminded me of that in Eothen, where the traveller exclaims, “The first night of your first campaign, (though you be but a mere peaceful campaigner,) is a glorious time in your life. It is so sweet to find one’s self free from the stale civilization of Europe! Oh, my dear ally! when first you spread your carpet in the midst of these eastern scenes, do think for a moment of those your fellow-creatures, that dwell in squares, and streets, and even (for such is the fate of many!) in actual country houses; think of the people that are ‘presenting their compliments’ and ‘requesting the honor,’ and ‘much regretting,’—of those that are pinioned at dinner-tables, or stuck up in ball-rooms, or cruelly planted in pews—ay, think of these, and so remembering how many poor devils are living in a state of utter respectability, you will glory the more in your own delightful escape.”

MILVERTON. On the other hand, I often feel how much might be made of society here. Whenever you go into any neighborhood, or penetrate into any small circle of society, you are surprised at the agreeable

people there are in that quarter—such people as you thought belonged only to your own particular circle. Yet it seems as if there was a want of some master mind devoted to the arts of social life, which should bring out the good qualities of those around it, and sun them into more active being.

ELLESMERE. This is all meant to be carried home, Miss Daylmer, to the Grange, that your uncle may be induced to believe that Milverton thinks there are civilized people even in these remote parts of the earth, but you know better.

LUCY. Having only heard that part of the wit and wisdom of London which you, Mr. Ellesmere and Mr. Milverton, bring down to us occasionally, I cannot pretend to judge of its intellectual resources; but I recollect, when I was reading the life of Sir Walter Scott, that on some occasion of his being in town, he dined with a company whom he called the wits, a short time afterwards at a dinner-party of lawyers, a day or two after that at a dinner-party of bishops; and he says that the lawyers beat the wits, and the bishops the lawyers. Now we have plenty of clergymen about here, and it is from clergymen that bishops are made. For my own part, I am afraid that I am simple enough to prefer the society of the old women and children whom I go to visit in our parish to all that London could give me.

ELLESMERE. Ah, you would find that most of us had forgotten our Greek, Miss Daylmer, and that we should form but indifferent companions to a modern version of Lady Jane Grey.

MILVERTON. Do not answer him any more, Lucy;

you see he is obliged to have recourse to personalities.

ELLESMERE. Just as if that Scott story was not aimed at me. But, Milverton, you were going to say something.

MILVERTON. Yes. I was going to say that I do not think sufficient credit is given to people for eminence in social qualities. To take an instance, you know our old college friend ———. Well, you know what a serviceable man he is in society, how sure he is in any company to promote the happiness and amusement of all around him. His wit, Lucy, is of the lambent and not of the forked kind: it lights up every topic with grace and variety, and it hurts nobody. I suppose no one ever left his company aggrieved by any saying of his. Very often you can carry away nothing that he has said, for his humor has been continuous, and a pailful of water from any river will no more give a notion of its beauty than a quotation from his conversation of its richness, grace, and drollery. I do not know whether ——— is, or will be, successful in his profession; that greatly depends upon other people; but to my mind he is a successful man. If he does not, however, obtain professional success, he may have all the graces and merits in the world, most people will pronounce his life a failure. Then you have some man of keen intellect, eminently disagreeable, living on the abuses of his age—

ELLESMERE. Do not be personal, Milverton.

MILVERTON. And this man makes an abundance of money or gains great station, and you run after him and shout his praises and desire to have his countenance

on canvas or in marble. When I look round upon some of the statues in the world, I am afraid of the indignation and contempt which rise up in my mind.

ELLESMERE. Whew! It is pretty evident that our presiding friend Dunsford is not here. When these outwardly calm and placid men do break out, Miss Daylmer, it is somewhat volcanic.

LUCY. I have heard my uncle say, Mr. Ellesmere, that he prefers downright anger to a sneer.

ELLESMERE. How, womanlike, somebody always shelters herself behind the sayings of some one else.

MILVERTON. I need not have expressed myself so warmly—nor so unjustly; for nobody pretends that notoriety, the cause of many a statue being set up, is a sure measure of merit.

LUCY. Never mind, Mr. Milverton; I will only repeat to my uncle just so much of your outbreak as will enable him to understand Mr. Ellesmere's ill-nature and sarcasm.

ELLESMERE. Equitable, certainly: a rustic Daniel come to judgment! This is the way I am always treated here; none of you will buy a bust of me, it is clear.

But to go back to the subject. If you are not quite satisfied with the state of society in this country, do you know of any other people who fulfil better your idea of the art of living, or who might do so? The Spaniards, for instance, I have heard you frequently praise them for various things. Do they make life so very successful a transaction?

MILVERTON. I have been but too short a time in their country to speak with any confidence, but I will give you my impressions.

ELLESMERE. You may see a great deal of people in travelling with them and amongst them; though of course there are things in a foreign country which you may utterly misunderstand, or pass by, if you do not get into society, and that, of course, requires time.

MILVERTON. They seem to me a most intelligent people—admirably courteous, without any of the mere grimace of courtesy—very courageous, as many a story of their late wars will testify—and, altogether, I must say, not unlike ourselves, especially the Castilians, except that they are more courteous, and less enterprising: and to answer specially the question you first addressed to me about them, I think they bid fair to understand the art of living as well as any nation on the earth.

ELLESMERE. Well, how is it that they make such a bad business of it in the way of government?

MILVERTON. Nations, like individuals, have what, for want of a more pious name, we may call their fortune, good and ill. These people have had a series of untoward circumstances to contend against—their monarchs holding other dominions—too much gold coming in upon them from the Indies and standing in the way of home culture and domestic enterprise—then disputed successions, for many many years—their contests at present having little or no principle in them, but being chiefly personal contests. These things, or things like them, they used to say to me themselves.

ELLESMERE. They were aware then of their political state?

MILVERTON. Thoroughly. Moreover, in all classes, as far as I saw, the national feeling is very strong. I

have before me now the elaborate bow which a muleteer with whom I was coming from the Escorial, made to me on my happening in conversation about his country to utter some just praise of it. He ran on from my side before me to the middle of the road, and receiving me, as it were, made a bow of which this is but a very faint and angular representation.

ELLESMERE. Well, their time may come again.

MILVERTON. If you mean for national pre-eminence, I do not know that I wish it for them. Of course one would wish the government to be much more stable and well directed than it has been. But withal, the bulk of the people at present seems to me any thing but ill off. These southern nations have a way of enjoying life and a power of lazy contentment not altogether to be despised.

But to go back for a moment to their intelligence. The general conversation in a diligence was almost always good. I have tried, for the purpose of learning the language, to get them to give me the distinctions between words nearly allied—such as in English, pretty, handsome, beautiful, elegant, the proper use of which it would require some nicety to explain to a foreigner.

ELLESMERE. And they managed it well.

MILVERTON. Yes. Another thing struck me much. As far as I could see, they are an accurate people, not pretending to understand things before they do. I always augur much from that in a man, or in a people.

ELLESMERE. As to the country itself, I suppose that is magnificent. Tell us something about it; but do not be voluminous. I very soon get tired of hearing

other people's travels. Tell us, for instance, about the Cathedral at Seville, the town of Cadiz, and the Alhambra.

MILVERTON. Well, the three things you have just mentioned did not lose any of their hold on the imagination by being seen. They quite came up to what has been said of them.

ELLESMERE. The Moorish architecture delighted you then?

MILVERTON. Yes: not only in their palaces but in their houses. Those Moors knew well that important part of the art of living which consists in building a house, therein being very superior to the Frankish nations.

ELLESMERE. It is very well to tell us, as you did just now, that things come up to the descriptions of them, which is like a novelist "drawing a veil" over the feelings of his hero and heroine, when they become troublesome and difficult to describe. But now sit down again, and describe to Miss Daylmer and me what the Alhambra is like. I have read no description. I never do read such things. Miss Daylmer has, I suppose; for every earthly thing is in Pinnock.

LUCY. I am sure, Mr. Milverton, you cannot resist such an encouraging invitation to describe. I will engage to put aside all the information I have derived from Pinnock, and will listen, like the dutiful pupil I once was to you, with the proper blankness of mind which Mr. Ellesmere vouches for himself.

MILVERTON. Well, come with me then in imagination to the Generalife, not a part of the Alhambra, but another palace close to it and more elevated, the sum-

mer palace of the Moorish kings, built exactly in the same style as the Alhambra. We will imagine ourselves to have got to the highest point of it, or to be looking down from the gallery which faces southwards. Beneath us, far beneath us, at the base of the palace, lies the town, in itself an object of great beauty. To the left, still close to us, the rocks down there have holes in them, the habitations of the gypsies. Beyond is the beautiful Vega, a vast green plain with water running through it. The whole scene is inclosed by mountains, forming an amphitheatre such as we might think fit for the tournament of the world, or rather for the world's empire to be fought for. Westward, the sun, as I saw it, is declining over the mountains: we look to the east, and high up above us, and seemingly close to us, lies the Sierra Nevada, its snows colored by the setting sun. Fed by that perpetual snow, streams are rushing through the elevated court where we stand, and are then seen coursing down the gardens and bubbling over the fountains, making their way to the green Vega. The luxury of Heat and the luxury of Cold meet here; and find rooms worthy such great powers to revel in. Here (and how rare it is!) man, instead of defacing nature, has adorned it. These light columns; this profusion of ornament, which yet never intrudes; this aptitude of the building for the climate and the people and the place, makes us not ashamed of our fellow-men having built there. I strive to see it all again; but there are some things I cannot see: and yet I turned and looked and came again, and looked again and tried to impress it on my brain that it might be with me sometimes hereafter.

LUCY. But you kept a diary.

MILVERTON. No, Lucy; nor would I if I were to go again. It is not words that will do. I could write many words about it now, but they would not bring back to me what I want, though they might have some appropriateness. I thought of this the other day when I was looking over your copy of Milne's poems. I know he is a great favorite of yours. There is a sonnet giving the advice which I have already taken.

LUCY. "Lesson to poets?"

MILVERTON. Yes, that is the title I think: only it must be adapted in my case to prose writers. But do you recollect it, Lucy, well enough to give Ellesmere any notion of it?

LUCY. I do recollect it, I believe, but I do not much like repeating it, because Mr. Ellesmere will be sure to tear it to pieces, if he is not in the humor to hear it; and though I do not mind what he says to me, I do not like to have any favorite bit of poetry shaken about in his critical mouth as that bit of cloth is by Rollo.

ELLESMERE. Upon my word, Attic maiden, you are very unfair: just as if, too, it were any thing remarkable, a man's criticism depending upon his humors.

MILVERTON. He deserves the sonnet for that satire on his own tribe, Lucy.

LUCY.

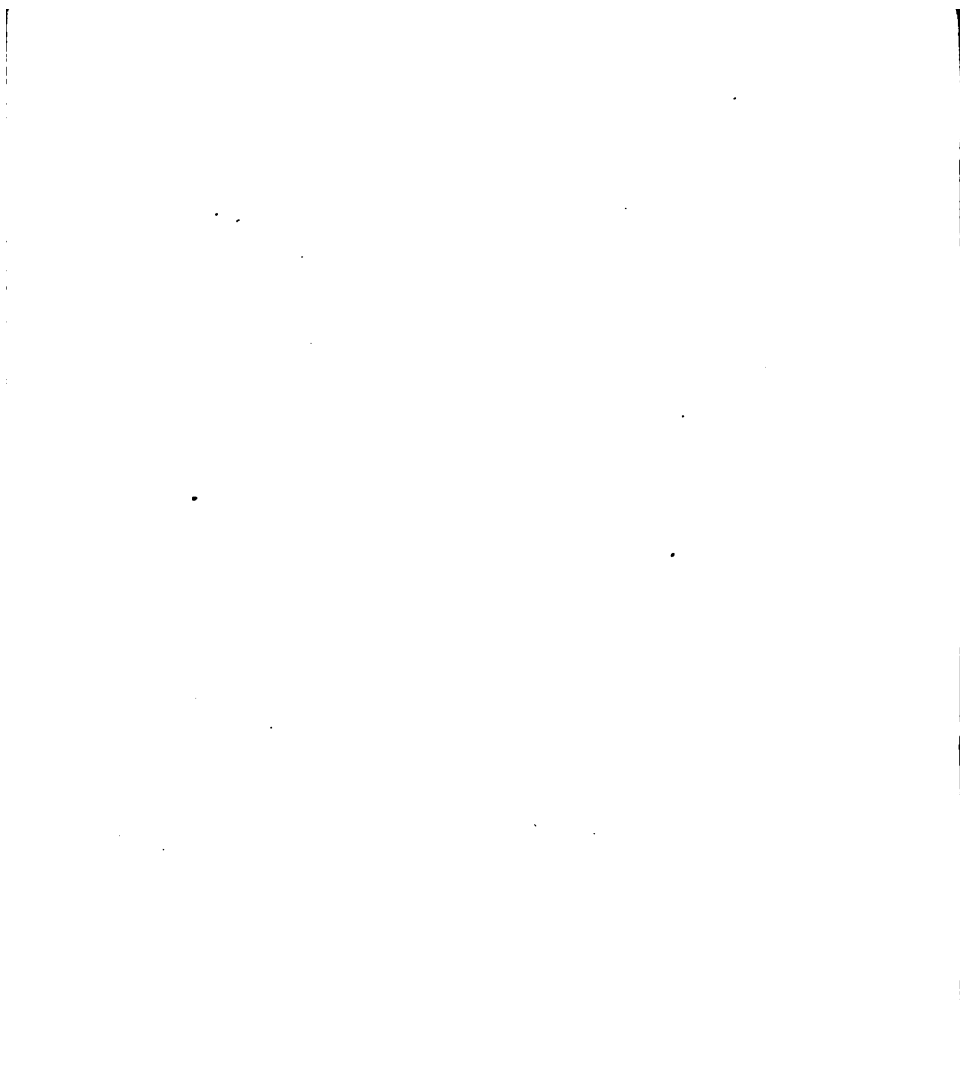
"Try not, or murmur not if tried in vain,
In fair rememberable words to set
Each scene or presence of especial gain,
As hoarded gems in precious cabinet.
Simply enjoy the present loveliness;—

Let it become a portion of your being ;
Close your glad gaze, but see it none the less.
No clearer with your eye, than spirit, seeing.
And, when you part at last, turn once again,
Swearing that beauty shall be unforget :
So in far sorrows it shall ease your pain,
In distant struggles it shall calm your strife,
And in your further and serener life,
Who says that it shall be remembered not ?”

MILVERTON. It is excellent advice. If you make too much of diary-keeping, you blur every beautiful sight by thinking what you shall write about it.

Here Mrs. Daylmer entered ; the conversation took another turn ; and after some mock salutations of great courtesy between my niece and Ellesmere, upon her receiving some ironical messages sent by him to me, she came away to give me the Essay, and to relate the above conversation.

END OF VOL. I.



FRIENDS IN COUNCIL:

A SERIES OF READINGS,

AND DISCOURSE THEREON.

"It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and intermingle Speech of the present Occasion with Arguments; Tales with Reasons, Asking of Questions, with Telling of Opinions; and Jest with Earnest: For it is a dull Thing to Tire, and as we say now, to Jade, any thing too far."—BACON. *Essay of Discourse*.

VOL. II.



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FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

BOOK II. (CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER IV.

WE had found our former reading on the downs so pleasant, that we resolved to wander forth again for our next; and when the day came, as I had by this time recovered my usual health, Milverton proposed that we should go to a mill at no great distance, called Bender's Mill, and have our reading on a knoll which overlooked the issuing waters. Ellesmere had come down the previous evening, and Lucy and I joined the party at breakfast, so that we were ready early to set out on our excursion. As we went along through the close lanes near Worth Ashton, I happened to remark the beauty of the hedges there.

MILVERTON. Yes, replied Milverton, I think that the hedges are amongst the most beautiful things we have in the country. Look at that mixture of hazel and maple: what a variety of form and color! And then the clustering clematis, like garlands thrown over the rest. See, too, the more delicate underwood of the hedge, the fern here and there, the wild strawberry, the foxglove, and all the other things we do not know

the names of, but which some Linnæus, (would we had one here!) could talk to us for hours about. I have often thought that, taken altogether, such a hedge as this is a picture of human life—beautiful and complete in its bold variety; whereas men would have one sturdy quickset of the same height and color—both in their fellow-men and in their hedges.

ELLESMERE. Now we are off upon our similitudes. I thought it soon would be so. My dear fellow, cannot you look at a bit of nature and enjoy it for itself, without troubling yourself about resemblances, and bringing in men on all occasions?

MILVERTON. I do not look out for resemblances: they at once occur to me. No wall rises up before me between the beautiful in inanimate nature and in the ways of men. You must take me as I am.

ELLESMERE. Well, I must not be particular then: I *will* take you as you are; only come and sit down on this stile. You country people all walk so furiously. May we say, without offence, that the walking part of the human body is that which receives the most culture in the country? Not, of course, that I mean in the most distant way to insinuate that—

DUNSFORD. Oh no, certainly not—pray do not go any further in the sentence. We know the respect you have for our intellects.

LUCY. Do you know, Mr. Milverton, that poor Carter is dead? He died last week.

MILVERTON. What, my poor old friend who lived in that cottage there, and with whom I have had many a long talk about the crops and the weather? Ah me! he was not a very wise man; yet now, perhaps, he

knows much more than the wisest of us who are left. I have often thought, Dunsford, when any of those whom we consider common-place people die—how at once they come in our minds to be regarded as superior beings. They know so much more than they did, we think; they look down upon us, as we fancy; they could tell us so much. Great is our reverence for the dead.

I ought to have known there was something the matter with the old man, not seeing him this fine day at his accustomed place in the porch.

LUCY. Don't you feel sometimes, Mr. Milverton, when there is a very, very fine day like this, as if something were going to happen—something quite unforeseen and very joyous—out of the common way, you know.

ELLESMERE. As Milverton is silent, Miss Daylmer, I will answer for him. We are getting into the middle-aged and full-colored, if not into the "sere and yellow," leaf; and are not given to the transports which belong to hopeful young buds and blossoms. When it is a fine warm day like this, we rejoice—that it is not cold.

MILVERTON. Do not believe him, Lucy, we are not quite so prosaic yet.

ELLESMERE. Do look at that little shepherd boy staring at us. Depend upon it, our coming here is *the* event of the day to him.

MILVERTON. I wonder how those urchins get through the hours.

ELLESMERE. Dinner, though but bread and cheese, must be the great pivot for their thoughts to turn

upon. Now, it is so many hours to dinner. That is a fact, which may be dwelt upon. Then dinner comes. After that, there is a sort of rush of the thoughts into space; for as yet supper is not on the horizon. Then strange images are sought out in the scudding clouds; dim recollections of a mother, or a playmate lost young, succeed; or, perhaps—but we will not go on imagining; let us try what we can make out of our young friend there, and see what he does think of.

DUNSFORD. Here, my boy.

ELLESMERE. Your dogs and ours seem to agree very well, my little man.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees: they knaowed one another afore.

ELLESMERE. What a fine day it is for you to-day!

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees.

ELLESMERE. But I suppose, whether it is fine or not, you are out all day long with the sheep.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Yees.

ELLESMERE. *Heus, amici, multo magis arduum est colloqui cum rusticis, quam argutis quæstionibus veritatem e testibus non volentibus extorquere.*

DUNSFORD. *Testibus non volentibus!*

ELLESMERE. Oh, never mind the Latin. But let us proceed. And do you like the summer days better than the winter days, my little fellow?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. They be warmer.

ELLESMERE. And how do you get through the days?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. I doant know.

ELLESMERE. I dare say, you find them sometimes very long.

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Noa. Johnny Hewsome do come up most afternoons to see I.

ELLESMERE. Humph! Is Johnny Hewsome a bigger boy than you?

SHEPHERD'S BOY. Noa—We be much of the same soize.

ELLESMERE. Well, you can buy something with this for you and Johnny Hewsome to play with. Good bye.

We then walked on, leaving the boy pulling vigorously at his hair.

ELLESMERE. "Johnny Hewsome do come up most afternoons to see I." There lies the favor of life to our young friend. Without it, all would be "lees," as Macbeth would say. Well, it is very beautiful to see the friendship of these little animals. I think there is more friendship at that time of life than at any other. They are then evenly-formed creatures, like bricks, which can be laid close to one another. The grown-up man is like a fortress, angular-shaped, with a moat round it, standing alone.

LUCY. Who is it that is now involved in metaphors?

ELLESMERE. I suppose all of us have, at one time or other, had a huge longing after friendship. If one could get it, it would be much safer than that other thing.

MILVERTON. Well; I wonder whether love, for I

imagine you mean love, was ever so described before, "that other thing!"

ELLESMERE. When the world was younger, perhaps there was more of this friendship. David and Jonathan! How does their friendship begin? I know it is very beautiful; but I have forgotten the words. Dunsford will tell us.

DUNSFORD. "And Saul said to him, Whose son art thou, thou young man? And David answered, I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Bethlehemite.

"And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking unto Saul, that the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul."

ELLESMERE. Now that men are more complex, they would require so much. For instance, if I were to have a friend, he must be an uncommunicative man; that limits me to about thirteen or fourteen people in the world. It is only with a man of perfect reticence that you can speak completely without reserve. We talk together far more openly than most people; but there is skilful fencing even in our talk. We are not inclined to say the whole of what we think.

MILVERTON. What I should need in a friend would be a certain breadth of nature; I have no sympathy with people who can disturb themselves about small things, who crave the world's good opinion, are anxious to prove themselves always in the right, can be immersed in personal talk or devoted to self-advancement, who seem to have grown up entirely from the *earth*, whereas even the plants draw most of their sustenance from the air of heaven

ELLESMERE. That is a high flight: I am not prepared to say all that. I do not object to a little earthiness. What I should fear in friendship, is the comment and interference and tale-bearing I often see connected with it.

MILVERTON. That does not particularly belong to friendship, but comes under the general head of injudicious comment on the part of those who live with us. Divines often remind us, that, in forming our ideas of the government of Providence, we should recollect that we see only a fragment. The same observation, in its degree, is true too, as regards human conduct. We see a little bit here and there, and assume the nature of the whole. Even a very silly man's actions are often more to the purpose than his friend's comments upon them.

ELLESMERE. True. Then I should not like to have a man for a friend who would bind me down to be consistent, who would form a minute theory of me which was not to be contradicted.

MILVERTON. If he loved you as his own soul, and his soul were knit with yours, to use the words of Scripture, he would not demand this consistency, because each man must know and feel his own immeasurable vacillation and inconsistency, and if he had complete sympathy with another, he would not be greatly surprised or vexed at that other's inconsistencies.

DUNSFORD. There always seems to me a want of tenderness in what are called friendships in the present day. Now, for instance, I don't understand a man ridiculing his friend. The joking of intimates often

appears to me coarse and harsh. You will laugh at this in me, and think it rather effeminate, I am afraid.

MILVERTON. No; I do not. I think there may be a great deal of jocose raillery pass between intimates without the requisite tenderness being infringed upon. If my friend had been in a painful and ludicrous position, (such as when Cardinal Balue in full dress is run away with on horseback, which Scott comments upon as one of a class of situations combining "pain, peril, and absurdity,") I would not remind him of it. Why should I bring back a disagreeable impression to his mind? Besides, it would be more painful than ludicrous to me. I should enter into his feelings rather than into those of the ordinary spectator.

DUNSFORD. I am glad we are of the same mind in this.

MILVERTON. I have also a notion that even in the common friendships of the world, we should be very staunch defenders of our absent friends. Supposing that our friend's character or conduct is justly attacked in our hearing upon some point, we should be careful to let the light and worth of the rest of his character in upon the company, so that they should go away with something of the impression that we have of him: instead of suffering them to dwell only upon this fault or foible that was commented upon, which was as nothing against him in our hearts, mere fringe to the character, which we were accustomed to, and rather liked than otherwise, if the truth must be told.

ELLESMERE. I declare we have made out amongst us an essay on friendship, without the fuss of writing

one. I always told you our talk was better than your writing, Milverton. Now we only want a beginning and ending to this peripatetic essay. What would you say to this as a beginning: it is to be a stately, pompous plunge into the subject, after the Milverton fashion. "Friendship and the Phoenix, taking into due account the Fire-Office of that name, have been found upon the earth in not unsimilar abundance." I flatter myself that "not unsimilar abundance" is eminently Milvertonian.

MILVERTON. Now observe, Dunsford, you were speaking some time ago about the joking of intimates being frequently unkind. This is just an instance to the contrary. Ellesmere, who is not a bad fellow, at least not so bad as he seems, knows that he can say any thing he pleases about my style of writing without much annoying me. I am not very vulnerable on these points: but all the while there is a titillating pleasure to him in being all but impertinent and vexatious to a friend. And he enjoys that. So do I.

ELLESMERE. I vow it is very spiteful of you, Milverton, to be showing Dunsford that there is less spite in me than he imagined; wearing me about you like a tame serpent with the poison taken out of him. I won't be made out so amiable. I shall not admit that I didn't know that I could not tease you upon these subjects.

With pleasant talk of this kind, we reached our destination, the mill; and after seating ourselves on the grassy hillock near it, Milverton read the following essay.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CONDITION OF THE RURAL POOR.

Coming out from the crowded city and looking upon some snug sequestered village, amid sweet smells and cheerful sounds, and with the thought of all that poets have written about the country, you feel confident that something very pleasant might be made out of the life of the poorest cottagers you see around you. If, however, in the recesses of your mind there lurk statistics of various kinds, parliamentary reports, evidence before health commissioners, accounts of education, and records of crime,—various misgivings will come upon you, and combat with the pleasing impression which the aspect of nature has involuntarily inspired you with. Nor will your second thought be entirely wrong. The life of the rural poor is unquestionably very meagre, mostly very dirty, and oscillating between dulness and low joys. Such being the case, it is not a matter of the first importance to ascertain whether the rural poor are better or worse off than they used to be formerly. It is very difficult to say whether relatively to the rest of society they have improved or receded:

but at any rate there are great room and great need for improvement now.

Before saying any thing about the improvement of the peasantry, it may be well to say something about the nature of the peasantry themselves. I conceive that the English rustic is greatly underrated. My own experience is only of the peasantry in the southern counties, (those of the northern are thought by many to be much superior;) but from what little I have seen, I have certainly formed a very favorable opinion of the possibilities arising from the character of our rural poor. It is true, there is often an appearance of stolidity about them, especially amongst the men; but this is only an outer crust of insensibility, an induration which nature kindly creates to harden them for what is too frequently a very hard lot. Their occupation, as Adam Smith observes, is better calculated than that of the mechanic to cultivate the intellectual powers. The changing seasons, the variety in the state of the materials upon which the rustic has to work, the many objects he has to accomplish, all tend to make him a more intelligent and thoughtful man than one whose labors are confined to the perfection of a single mechanical process. If the rustic then is inferior to the mechanic, this inferiority must result from other

circumstances than the difference in their respective callings.

Various plans and theories have at different times been put forward for the improvement of the laboring population; and occasionally we hear of some specific cause and specific remedy which will account for and settle all the difficulty. Of late years (for there is a fashion in these things) theories about population built upon the shallowest and most shifting basis of facts, have been brought in as the main guide of our conduct towards the laboring population. It is a bold thing to say, but I believe that as much folly has been uttered by so-called political economy as ever has been said against it. And still more folly and cruelty have been worked into practice by men who, enslaved to some one doctrine, true enough in itself, but requiring when expressed in life a thousand modifications, have carried it out as if it were a Bible to them. They have made a creed of it. Now scarcely any doctrine in morality will bear to be so treated, much less any conclusion of political economy. For example, you will find what are called shrewd people declaring that wages are now the sole bond between master and man. Whereas one man cannot be ten minutes with another without taking up some position in regard to him not influenced

by the money values which may pass between them.

Questions connected with the theories of population and the means of putting a stop to its too rapid increase, are very large and require to be discussed in much detail. I cannot do so here, and do not intend to do so anywhere, but shall simply and somewhat dogmatically declare my own opinion, that no great State was ever saved or rehabilitated by invalid measures such as direct anti-population ones. New forms of thought, new arrangements of society, inventions, discoveries, and unforeseen conjunctions of circumstances give new opportunities for national energy, and carry off, or undermine, an evil which will never be pared down by cold and merely restrictive measures, and which perhaps ought never to be attacked directly but indirectly.

I do not myself hope any thing either from Fourierism, Owenism, or any of the forms of association which have hitherto been proposed. These societies attempt something upon prudential motives which could only be carried out upon the highest motives. They will all fail, I think, for want of a religious bond; and no religious bond can be formed for such second-rate objects as an increase of warmth and food, and a decrease of labor. Added to which, these pro-

jectors ignore all individuality, and would have men to be more alike than they will ever find them. But there is more difference in the roots of the earth, even in the forms of any basketful of potatoes you dig up, than there should be in the people who would be fit to inhabit the parallelograms and Icarias which are, with a kind fancy, laid out for them by sundry benevolent projectors. Still, I do not mean to say that no benefits may arise from the principle, or rather the practice, of association being carried out as regards many of the minor purposes of life.

The modes which occur to me for raising the condition of the rural laboring classes are of a much simpler and humbler kind than those alluded to above. Where reform for the laborers may most securely be looked for, is first in themselves, secondly in their immediate employers, thirdly in their landlords and resident gentry and clergy, fourthly in what the State can do for them by means of education.

First in themselves. De Foe says that the English are "the most lazy diligent nation in the world,"* and what he says on this head goes

* "We are the most lazy diligent nation in the world: there is nothing more frequent than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or perhaps drunk, till it is all gone, and perhaps himself in debt,

to the root of the matter. My own conviction is, that throughout England every year there is sufficient wages given, even at the present low rate, to make the condition of the laboring poor quite different from what it is. But then these wages must be well spent. I do not mean to contend that the poor could of themselves alone effect this change; but were they seconded by the advice, the instruction, and the aid (not given in money, or only in money lent to produce the current interest of the day) of the classes above them—the rest the poor might accomplish for themselves. And indeed all that the rich could do to elevate the poor could hardly equal the advantage that would be gained by the poor for themselves, if they could thoroughly subdue that one vice of drunkenness—the most wasteful of all the vices.

In the living of the poor (as indeed of all of us) there are two things to be considered: how to get money and how to spend it. Now I be-

and ask him in his cups what he intends? he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more. I make no difficulty to promise, on a short summons, to produce above a thousand families in England, within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whose fathers can earn their 15s. to 25s. a week, but will not work; who have work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn any thing but bare subsistence, and spending money for themselves." Quoted in *Eden's State of the Poor*, vol. i., p. 280.

lieve the experience of employers will bear me out in saying, that it is frequently found that the man with twenty shillings a week does not live more comfortably, or save more, than the man with fourteen shillings, the families of the two men being the same in number and general circumstances. It is probable that unless he have a good deal of prudence and thought, the man who gets at all more than the average of his class, does not know what to do with it, or only finds in it means superior to that which his fellows possess of satisfying his appetite for drinking.

This brings me to the second part of the subject, namely, what their employers and superiors can do for the poor. First I begin with the moral aim they should have before them, which is, to make helpful, hopeful, wise men around them. For this end, the rich and powerful must ever beware of that charity which breeds poverty and helplessness. Thoughtless benevolence may for a while create some show of good; but it begins to fade away at the retiring footsteps of the so-called benefactor.

There was a maxim uttered before a parliamentary committee by a very shrewd man, who had been himself, I believe, one of the laboring classes—"Charity creates much of the misery it relieves, but does not relieve all the misery it creates." The object of the higher classes, and

indeed of all employers, should be to keep their efforts for the poor free from any of the objections to which foolish charity* is liable,—to make their charity something reproductive; and in no way can they insure this object so well as by operating almost insensibly and imperceptibly, if it may be so, upon the characters of those whom they would benefit. The education of the young is a sure and pre-eminently reproductive charity; but it would be hard to limit our efforts to this pleasant duty, and much besides in the condition of the poor requires to be attended to.

Now, suppose that a benevolent and sensible man of the class of employers were, with the above views in his mind, to resolve to see if he could not make the poor about him spend their spare time and spare money well. What would

* I have been asked to explain what I mean by "foolish charity." To do so in detail would require a volume. But I may say briefly, that that charity will generally prove foolish which lacks thought and continuity of purpose. It is only in romances that giants of evil are cleaved from head to foot by one blow. In real life evil has an elastic force, and recovers from rare or long intermitted blows, however hard or well-directed. To be sure of being wisely charitable, you must begin by giving a great deal of thought—a generosity of the rarest kind. Then, besides giving thought, you have to continue steady in purpose when the novelty of the purpose has worn off. Even working wrongly in this way leads to some good result: something at last is learnt which might never have been attained by scattered efforts at mischief.

he do? The first thing he would attempt, would be to improve their moral and intellectual culture. He would try to give them more information on economical subjects in which they are at present deplorably ignorant. He would endeavor to preoccupy their minds against low temptations by giving them something else to think of. His gifts would all tend in the same direction: he would aim at their being of the reproductive kind.

In this class of benefits, that which holds by far the first place is house accommodation. I have no doubt that ever since the change of manners which the ending of slavery and feudalism gave rise to, the want of house accommodation for the poor has been their greatest drawback and deficiency. The complaint of a want of cottages is no new one. Eden, writing fifty years ago, thus expresses himself on this point: "The present is said to be an age of speculation, and particularly so in building; but adventurers in this line, I believe, seldom think of erecting cottages in country parishes, on the contingent possibility of letting them to laborers' families. Neither can laborers themselves, who wish to migrate from their parents, and set up for themselves, although they may possess the small sum requisite to erect a cottage, always obtain permission of the lord of a manor to build one on a common. I am acquainted with one parish, in

the neighborhood of a populous city, in which, from the difficulty of procuring tenements, or small plots of land to build on, poor people have, more than once, availed themselves of a long night, to rear a hovel on the road-side, or on the common." And in the present day things are worse rather than better in this respect. Now the wastefulness of bad accommodation can hardly be overrated. Dampness, uncleanness, want of means for storing and preserving food, and insufficient sewerage in a habitation, are all immediate causes of pecuniary loss. But the indirect losses are here the greatest. Who can estimate how much money is spent for the enjoyment of the clean sanded floor and comparative comfort of the pot-house, which might be had so cheaply at home? In improving the house accommodation of the poor, you spend something which anticipates expense; and do good which cannot well be taken away. Wages are said to vary according to the price of sustenance, according to the demand for labor, according to the increase of population. It may not be in your power, except indirectly, to affect these great currents of human prosperity and adversity; but raise the style of house accommodation, and you will do a solid good which lowering of wages cannot depress.

To proceed still further in the same direction. I have spoken hitherto of house accommodation

being wanted for the poor, but such accommodation will be very incomplete, unless it includes a bit of ground surrounding each cottage. Well would it be if every land-owner carried in his mind a resolve in consonance with an Act passed I believe in Elizabeth's reign, which forbade cottages to be erected unless a certain quantity of land were laid to each cottage, and denominated all cottages failing in this respect "silly cottages." I do not presume to say what would be the quantity of land (for that must vary according to the productiveness and other circumstances of the vicinity) which should be enough to give the cottager a homestead, and prevent him from becoming a cottier,—where it is thought desirable to prevent that. But that he should have a homestead I have no manner of doubt. Consider the loss of labor, if round every home there is not a homestead. Allotments, excellent things as they are, will not compensate for the want of a homestead, especially in such a climate as our British one, where, on account of the wet, it is desirable that the ground which a man labors upon at odd times should be close to him. Consider also the benefit of getting all manner of little adjuncts to his ordinary food, which even a little homestead affords the laborer. In furtherance of this, direct gifts may be made by the neighboring rich, which gifts will be eminently reproductive ones, such as plants, seeds, tools, animals.

In an Essay published about half a century ago on the best means of providing employment for the people, there are three maxims laid down which seem very judicious. The writer contends "that, in order that any advantage may be derived from the desire of enjoying the artificial necessities of life, and the imitative propensities of man, by making them the means of rendering him industrious, three circumstances are materially requisite. The example to be imitated must be pretty generally diffused among a people. The object it proposes, must be considerably above those already enjoyed; and, to acquire it, although labor and industry should be necessary, they should never be vain and ineffectual."* Now all these conditions would soon be fulfilled were several employers and rich men to set about improving the house accommodation of the rural poor; because the third condition would be fulfilled without their interference, if only there were a sufficient proportion of good cottages, as the industrious men amongst the poor would find their way to them.

Having considered the benefits that would arise from better house accommodation, and from homesteads, I would say that the views of a benevolent landlord might go still further in

* See *Dr. Crumpe's Essay* referred to in *Eden's State of the Poor*, Vol. i, p. 438.

the same course, and he might endeavor to make some at least of the poor people on his lands proprietors. The cottier system in Ireland has naturally frightened large proprietors and the public generally, and made them very averse to small tenancies in land or small proprietors. But the cases are not the least analogous. Almost every good result in life is the result of proportion; and it is so in the case we are considering. That people having very small holdings in land should succeed, requires certain qualities in the men themselves, and certain circumstances around them. If there be an utter absence, or something approaching to it, of one of these qualities or circumstances, the whole proportion is deranged, and what might have been an unmixed good turns out an unmixed evil. We are not to conclude against small holdings of land in a country abounding in manufacturing industry, under settled laws and very firm bonds of society, and amongst a people not easily contented and very likely to be willing at any time to give a good day's work for a good day's wages, because these small holdings have led to great abuses and mischief in a country where the above-named advantages are wanting, or do not exist in the same degree. The Celt is very fond of setting up as a gentleman. The graces as well as the faults of his character tend that way. But I have no fear that amongst our Anglo-Sax-

on community the possession of one, two, three, or even five acres of land will make a man indifferent to putting himself forward whenever good wages are to be had for work.

To give our laboring population comfortable house accommodation, to provide them some small homestead round each cottage, indeed, to go further, and to make several of them small proprietors, are works which will require much time, but they should be at once adopted as objects for all land-owners and employers, as they already are by some; and a man who coming to an estate where a number of peasants are lodged in "silly" and dirty cottages, which almost deny the idea of Prudence, (rarely willing to enter abodes where her elder sister Cleanliness is never to be found,) and who leaves a number of wise and clean cottages, all of them with little homesteads round them, and some with small pieces of land attached to them rented, or even possessed, by the cottager, will have done a greater feat than many a man who has been a most skilful architect of his own fortunes, and has made a great noise in the world.

I am not sure that such conduct on the part of the land-owner or employer will repay him in money, and I do not believe that that is what he will think first of. Why such things are not attempted now by landlords, is from a fear of bad consequences to the community, and not alto

gether from selfish motives. They have the fear of increased Poor Rates before their eyes, and look with some apprehension upon each cottage as a possible nest of paupers. And as things are now, this fear is not to be wondered at; but I believe if the condition of the peasantry were elevated, so would be the value of the landlord's estate; and every acre of his would become more valuable as there arose a more numerous but self-sustaining population. It is only in this way—by an improvement in the condition of the laboring classes—that we shall diminish the pressure of the Poor Laws, or make them what they should be—a kind refuge for those amongst the poor whom very adverse circumstances, old age, or accidents, have driven to utter want.

Lastly, there is what the State can do for the rural poor by means of education: furthering and consolidating private efforts in this good cause, and giving it its just weight and honor. It is not to be supposed that education, which is a spiritual thing, will at once compensate for material deficiencies; but it tends to breed up a generation who will make the most of whatever material good comes in their way, who are likely to bear evil days with patience, (for patience is a great part of education,) who will know that there have been other evil days in times past,

who will appreciate the difficulties which others experience in assisting them, who will stay in their parishes or emigrate, or marry, or live singly, upon better grounds of reason and more thoughtfulness than their fathers were able to command; and who, if the education were made what it ought to be, would have increased their acquaintance with nature in various ways, and thereby added to their resources in many directions.

DUNSFORD. I think it would be a great thing for the rural poor and the country generally, if the farmers were a more educated race.

MILVERTON. Certainly, and if they were men of more capital. I often wonder that the younger sons of gentlemen are not more frequently brought up to the cultivation of land.

ELLESMERE. That comes from the diseased idea prevalent among the higher and middle classes of the charms and glories of professional life. Now I do not wish to run down any thing by which I make my bread, but I can imagine a great many ways of occupation more fitting for the mind, the body, and the whole man, than that of a lawyer. I mean of a successful lawyer, for nothing can be conceived more dreary than the life of a man who is waiting for business through the best years of his existence.

MILVERTON. Yes, if you were to relate to the inhabitant of another planet the career of many of our cleverest men, it would seem strangely disproportion-

ate. For the first five and twenty years they are elaborately educated. For the next fifteen or twenty they wait to do something, and for the remainder of their lives they find out that there is nothing for them to do, or even if they do get into business, what a poor superstructure it is, considering the ample base of time and labor upon which it has been raised.

DUNSFORD. Forgive me, Milverton, but this is rather a shallow way of looking at the question. Every man's life here is a very poor superstructure for the basis. Indeed I should say no superstructure at all, but only a foundation. However, without going into these general questions, I quite agree with you that the higher and middle classes have been too anxious to take their children out of all employments which have any thing mechanical in them. To go to another point connected with the essay: You have said little or nothing about the social intercourse between the landlord and the laborer.

MILVERTON. I have said so much upon this subject in other places, that I feel as if it would be only needless repetition to say any more. As you know, I look upon the social intercourse of various classes as one of the great means of education for each class; and there is no doubt that the aid and encouragement which the higher might give the lower classes by mere presence among them, and converse with them, is very great. Often, all that a man wants in order to accomplish something that it is good for him to do, is the encouragement of another man's sympathy. What Bacon says the voice of a man is to the dog—the encouragement of a higher nature—each man can, in a lesser

degree afford his neighbor: for a man receives the suggestions of another mind with somewhat of the respect and courtesy with which he would greet a higher nature. Do not you remember, Ellesmere, when, in our younger days, you went through any problem of which you felt assured that every step was built upon the clearest reasoning, you yet felt a great satisfaction if any fellow-worker had come to the same result?

ELLESMERE. I very seldom did come to the same results with anybody else; but if I had, I allow I should have felt more sure that I was right.

MILVERTON. And this in matters of the clearest logic; whereas all human affairs are immersed in the confusions, contradictions, and darkness of material things.

DUNSFORD. To come back again to the essay: you have said nothing about emigration.

MILVERTON. Why should I? It may, or may not be, requisite; but at present I am endeavoring to show what can be done on our own soil.

ELLESMERE. One of the greatest things for furthering your rural improvement would be an improvement in the law, which should lead to a simpler and less expensive mode of transferring small portions of landed property.

DUNSFORD. And one of the greatest moral improvements which would conduce to the rural improvements we have been considering, would be a lessening of that vanity which induces men to hold large estates in their hands which they have not capital to work or to improve.

MILVERTON. Yes; so that they are like vessels

which turn out to be too large for the docks they are built in, lying idle in unwieldy pomp.

ELLESMERE. Well, let us leave rustics and rustical affairs for to-day. There is no doubt that what Dunsford has just said is very true; and I should have no objection to extend his moral proposition, and declare that if men in general were wiser and better, corn would grow much richer; but meanwhile let us look at the water coming from the mill. How beautiful it is! It can say, too, in defence of its noise and tumult, that at least it grinds some corn, an excuse which many kings and governors, authors and clamorous persons of various kinds cannot plead for their doings—which are often all noise; and the corn is not ground by them, but trodden down.

MILVERTON. I was thinking when we first came to the waters, of a Spanish proverb about them. “*Aguas pasadas no muelen molino.*” “The waters that have passed the mill grind no more.” It is a proverb against excessive regret, a very good one.

DUNSFORD. The two thoughts occasioned by the same phenomenon are very characteristic of the men.

LUCY. I wonder when any thing in nature will give occasion to Mr. Ellesmere to say any thing good-natured of man.

MILVERTON. No, no, now you are not just to him. Ellesmere only means to take the part which some man occupies in one of those brilliant little novels, *Headlong Hall*, or *Crotchet Castle*, “the deteriorationist.” What I wish is, that he would give us all that is to be said in this character at once, and then turn to some other, which he would fill as well.

ELLESMERE. Commend me to Milverton for a friend to give a high view of one's intentions and purposes. But I have no objection, if you really wish it, to comply with your request some day, and give you a lecture containing my general dissatisfaction with most things.

DUNSFORD. Now, now, nothing like time present: and a practised lawyer like you can speak without any preparation.

ELLESMERE. Wait a minute. I will just walk up and down a bit to arrange my thoughts, and invent some telling aphorism to begin with. You must not interrupt much. You see where the sun is now: it will be there, far in the west, before I shall have finished, if you interrupt. Upon my word I am serious, I will give you a speech if you like. You must all answer it, if you can, in your various ways. Milverton will write an essay in reply—the title, “on the completeness of modern life;” my friend to the right (meaning me) will preach a sermon which somebody who hears will perhaps be good enough to tell me about; and Miss Daylmer will—make an answer in worsted-work.

He went away, walked about a little, and then returning to us, began as follows:—

ELLESMERE. The age that is, would, indeed, be the weakest as well as the last of ages, if having the whole story to tell, it did not make itself the hero of the story. In this case, however, having (much to my satisfaction) to appear at present on the other side, I shall

lay before your Lordships—and her Ladyship—such reasons as may induce the Court to come to a very different conclusion to that of the Court below. To begin with the Church.

DUNSFORD. Now, Ellesmere—

ELLESMERE. My Lord, I must beg you to bear in mind that there is an imaginary Bar here as well as a Bench, and that the right of free speaking to the point—here you must fancy a murmur of applause to the back of the speaker—is not to be questioned, and so I shall proceed. What a thing a modern Protestant service is, a mixture of services which, however beautiful in themselves, (the product, by the way, of other and very different ages,) were never meant to be so brought, I would say jammed, together as they are; hymns of praise are made inappropriate, and at times almost ludicrous, by being read out instead of sung: the noblest buildings of the church are so misused, that as an author, who might be eminent if he would listen more to a certain learned friend of his, says (here I am pretty sure of one of my judges going with me) “cathedrals are to him mostly a sad sight”—and yet this church is, in its way, one of the choicest things of the land.

Then, as to the State, here is a constitution working in such a fashion, that there is no man, however weak, unprincipled, or ludicrous, who may not fairly pretend to a seat in the chief council of the State; and where the government of the country, interest-subdued, is at times so feeble and so inadequate, that, hopelessly, it allows those evils to go on which all men acknowledge to be evils, without attempt at averting them, (look at

the railroad legislation of late years for that,) and where, generally, measures, instead of being wisely and long prepared, are left to be originated by some chance,—by individual knowledge and impulses,—to be borne on by clamor and carried by combination from without. The honors of the State, to whom are they given? often to men industriously obscure, of whom, though they may have supported the Whig or the Tory interest in this borough or that county, the country in general knows nothing, and ought to know nothing.

Then, if we come to literature, (which is to be the government always of the next age,) what do we find but histories with insufficient research, fictions without truth, no metaphysics, no theology, and such a multitude of bad hurried books issuing from the press, that the art of forgetting is the main desideratum for a modern reader of modern books. If we look at the social life, dulness, ostentation, and imitativeness reign triumphant there. Here is a metropolis numerous as the army of Xerxes, (even in the annals of an historian not bound to provide for them,) and which if a Xerxes could look down upon, piercing through the pall of smoke which covers its inhabitants and which they like to have about them, he would see them clustering together in ill-built, ill-ventilated, ill-placed houses, the social pleasures of the people tarnished by vice, encumbered by foolish ostentation, formed without art, partaken without comfort, and having no soul of pleasure in them. He would see this multitude dressed all alike, not suitably to what they have to do or to suffer, but in a dress adopted from the defects, the

follies, and the fancies of the most foolish of mankind. An author whom I have before alluded to, and from whom better things might have been hoped, exalts to the uttermost the fact, if it be so, of this age being free from fear of the fagot or the torture-chamber. Fear of the social circle, fear of the newspaper, fear of being odd, fear of what may be thought by people who never did think, still greater fear of what somebody may say—are not these things a clinging dress of torture?

There are noble men in the world, but they do not say to each other, "Brother, I am in doubt, in difficulty, in despair: come and tell me what thy soul thinketh." A mean and cowardly reserve upon the most important questions of human life, is the characteristic of modern times. In few words, to parody the saying of a great writer in depreciation of an age, perhaps, superior to this, we may say that we are living amongst second-hand arts, misguiding letters, bad society—and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of the meanest aspects of public opinion; and the life of man gregarious, unsociable, whirling, confused, thoughtless, dull.

MILVERTON. You have shown your skill as an advocate; here enlisting Dunsford with you when you spoke of politics after his fashion; here making sure of me in commenting on the poverty of modern worship and the mean and stupid arrangements of some modern cities.

DUNSFORD. But you do not mean to say, Milverton, that you agree with his ill-natured tirade.

MILVERTON. Why—I think he is right to some extent in nearly every point of attack he makes; but it does not discompose my mind. It would be a very sad thing if we had not a great deal left for us to do in the world. In these matters, I hold to one view which I have expressed to you metaphorically before. It is, that the progress of mankind is like the incoming of the tide, which, for any given moment, is almost as much of a retreat as an advance, but still the tide moves on.

Again, to look at the matter practically, the man who is satisfied with any given state of things that we are likely to see on earth, must have a creeping imagination: on the other hand, he who is oppressed by the evils around him so as to stand gaping at them in horror, has a feeble will and a want of practical power, and allows his fancy to come in, like too much wavering light upon his work, so that he does not see to go on with it.

A man of sagacity, while he apprehends a great deal of the evil around him, resolves what part of it he will be blind to for the present, in order to deal best with what he has in hand: and as to men of any genius, they are not imprisoned or rendered partial even by their own experience of evil, much less are their attacks upon it paralyzed by their full consciousness of its large presence.

ELLESMERE. Had I really been a hired advocate, I should have ventured to interrupt your Lordship a good many times in the course of the last few minutes, and remind you of the question at issue: only when

you are in the aphoristic vein, and putting forth all manner of theories, I do not like to stop you. Now that last thing you said is plausible, nay more, it is a high view of genius, but I should be glad if you would inform me of your examples, if you would tell me who are the people who are not subdued by their own experience.

MILVERTON. All very great artists; Shakespeare and Goethe for instance—even Scott in a minor degree, whereas Byron was absorbed by his own experience of life.

DUNSFORD. But to descend into details with our answer to his speech, or rather our judgment upon it.

MILVERTON. First as regards the church—you must answer that though, Dunsford.

DUNSFORD. No: it was a common-place, weak attack which might be improved into something serious, if I were to answer it—more especially as I agree with him in some measure about the services.

ELLESMERE. This is the answer.

MILVERTON. I suppose you will leave it to me to say something in reply to his attack upon present literature, in which I really think, Ellesmere, if you were not wholly joking, you were very unreasonable. We look across the wide landscape of time, from this height near us to that one in the middle distance, from that to the next tall trees, from them to the next circle of hills, and so on; forming our view out of the heights, and not knowing that there are such things as deep valleys and wide-extended plains before us. I have heard one of the few persons qualified to judge in such matters say, that

in all time there are not more than a hundred names eminent in literature. That age would be the most wonderful age the world had seen, in which it was not to be said of the current literature, that the greatest part of what was written had better not have been written, for any service that it could do a reasonable reader, taking into account the hindrance that it is to him in preventing him from reading what has some undoubted nutriment in it.

Neither do I mean to contend, that there is not a certain reckless fluency in these times, and a grasping at effect at no little sacrifice of truth ; but there is some sterling work done, surely. We are not in a position to say whether this work is to live or not, and to weigh its merits nicely.

ELLESMERE. Now then, Miss Daylmer, the question of dress and social life is left for you. Are we not very far removed by our arts of dressing and general demeanor from any of the lower animals, especially the ape species ?

LUCY. I don't know what branch of our toilet, or rather of yours, you would begin reforming. I suppose you would not begin by being an ancient Briton and wearing a long beard.

ELLESMERE. Indeed but I would. That is the very first thing I would do.

LUCY. Frightful ! what figures you would be !

ELLESMERE. How can you talk such nonsense. You have generally more outward seemings of sense than most country girls, but in this you are as absurd as—as I am to try and convince you. Have you ever examined pictures, busts, or coins, and seen what men

used to look like? So wedded is the feminine nature to what it is accustomed to, that I am persuaded that if it were customary to have the right hand thumbs of all people in the upper classes cut off, the women would all vow that it was an elegant custom; and when some Ellesmere had proposed to keep the digit in question, some Miss Daylmer would wonder how he could think of doing so vulgar a thing—so unbecoming too.

MILVERTON. Well, I think we do waste a good deal of time and energy to make ourselves ridiculous in the matter of beards.

LUCY. But is nobody with me? Uncle, what do you say?

DUNSFORD. I cannot see, my love, why, in itself, any custom would not become a clergyman, which so many old divines (have you ever noticed their portraits in my folios?) look well in.

LUCY. I see you are all for beards; but then, if it would not be presumptuous in a girl like me to say so to such reverend company, are you not rather cowardly in not doing what you all think would save you so much trouble, and be so becoming?

DUNSFORD. What would be thought of it, dear Lucy, in the parish? As it is, your mother often tells me that she is sure Mrs. Thompson will say that I do things like no other person.

LUCY. And you, Mr. Milverton?

MILVERTON. Why you see, my pet, I say a great many things in books which are not perhaps quite according to rule, and which I know the potent Mrs. Thompson would pronounce against; and then I do a

few odd things, to please myself and have my way, and I cannot afford to do any more. Each of us has a certain amount of allowable eccentricity: (some more than others :) I have no savings, and have indeed rather overdrawn than otherwise. Besides, authors, artists, players, are all an outcast race: my doing it would not further the matter: some very respectable, judicious, safe man must set the example.

LUCY. I turn then to Mr. Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. Why you see, Miss Daylmer, I am a lawyer, and we lawyers love to cherish custom; if we were to upset that, we do not exactly see what would happen. It might be that people would come to omit giving us the customary fees. Nevertheless, some day after a long vacation spent in the East, I am not sure that I shall not appear in Court with a beard. You may be quite sure I shall not do this till I have secured what is called a competency.

LUCY. Valorous gentleman! Well, if we women had not the courage in such trifling matters as those of dress to do—

ELLESMERE. Now, Miss Daylmer, don't tempt me to say what I shall be sorry to have said, as you hear angry people exclaim, when they are about to say the obnoxious saying; but I am credibly informed, and do verily believe, that there are certain portions of women's dress—

Here Lucy tripped away, for she is a girl of great tact, though I say it who shouldn't say it, merely observing that she would return when Mr. Ellesmere had come back to some subject

which he really did understand something about. This broke up our sitting ; we now noticed that it was time to think of returning, and commenced our walk homewards.

CHAPTER V.

THE following chapter, as my readers will soon see is out of its proper place. But, wishing to keep the different sections of one important subject together, I give the following essay a place here, though it was read to us at a subsequent period, and when we were far away from Worth Ashton.

I remember only a part of the conversation which preceded this essay. Milverton was talking about fables; and Ellesmere said, that he believed the animals made fables about us, and that he did not see why such fables should not afford just as good hints for their conduct as our fables about them for ours. Milverton assented to this; and said, that he knew indeed of one occasion when a fable related in the presence of certain animals led to very important results. If we liked, he would tell us the whole story. We said we should be glad to hear it, and Milverton thus began.

MILVERTON. The lions once were lazy: and some of them whose teeth were not so white as they had

been, but who roared as bravely as ever, said to the others, "Why, brother lions, do we lead this wretched toilsome life—up early, to lair late; hunting alone over the sandy plains from morning till night, and earning but a scanty living or too much; now starved, now gorged; and at all times some of us starving while others are gorging. Let us no more be unsociable, but let all the great beasts of the forest hunt together in packs; so shall our cares be divided equally, and our prey the same." The other lions roared assent. The tigers also listened favorably to this counsel; and all the young ones much approved it, for though they loved blood, they were fond of play too.

The project once agreed upon, the jackals were discarded; the wild beasts gathered together in bands; and a new order of things reigned throughout the forests and deserts of the world.

But plenty and harmony reigned not. When any of these vast companies of wild beasts went out to hunt, their united roaring, like the thunder, warned their prey from afar of what was coming; and every one of the harmless animals had time to hide. Then, too, none of the great beasts cared, as before, to watch with diligence the traces of his prey, for that was a duty which belonged to all. Nor was that amity found which should have graced such noble assemblages of great wild beasts; for those amongst them whose limbs were strongest, or whose scent was keenest, would insist upon being foremost in leading the pack, though they would not be earliest in snuffing the morning breeze or in tracing the faint footmarks of young antelopes.

Each week the lions and tigers grew more gaunt, and

their lionesses and tigresses more clamorous for food for their cubs and themselves. *They* had never been so fond of this banding together.

At last one sultry day, in the plains of Central Africa, there met by chance five companies of these great beasts. That they should thus meet together showed how ill they had managed, and what a want there was of jackals. None of them had tasted water for two days, for it had been the duty of every one to look out for the bubbling springs in the few green oases.

There they lay couched upon the sand, each company eyeing the others with ill-suppressed hatred; but the hunger which had increased their ferocity had tamed their courage, and they feared to attack one another, though they thirsted for each other's blood. Low growlings occasionally broke the silence. Unconsciously, in their irritation, their tails swept slightly backwards and forwards and raised a fine cloud of sand, which only parched their palates more.

Then one of the old lions, whose mild roaring was never listened to by his tribe except in seasons of great adversity, essayed to speak; and all the rest were silent. "Brother beasts," said he, "let me tell you a fable of men. Those poor, weaving, spinning, handy creatures were once minded to live most socially together. The food they scratch for, the rags they tie themselves up in, were to be in common; their little dens were all to be large ones; none were to seek private ends, but each was to scratch the ground or draw the little threads across each other with all his might for the good of the community. Their jack-

als too were all dismissed ; and men began their new way of life, uttering their discordant noises of joy.

" But somehow or other the scratching of the earth for the public good was not so deep as it had formerly been. More weeds than seeds came up. The rags men tie themselves in were more scanty than before. It was found that there never were so many sick men who could not scratch the earth or tease the threads. But there was one kind of work which all would do, and that was, to tell the others what to do. These deformed creatures who stand upright and hate one another, hated more than ever, each wishing to scratch the ground in the foremost rank, or to weave the first threads that were to be woven. Their females, like ours, my friends, are more given to call for food for their cubs, than to plan hunts and battles, and talk wisdom." Here a low but significant growl burst from the assembly, each remembering what his lioness or tigress had lately said to him at bedtime in his lair.

" My friends, to end a story which is already too long, I have but to tell you that these creatures soon came to blows with stick and stone. The strength of tooth and nail has not been allowed them, for fear such irritable animals should make too frequent use of that power. The earth was no longer scratched at all, the threads no longer interwoven, their dens tumbled down, the white sand gained upon the green grass ; and that we are here, brother beasts, to-day, is owing to the folly which led these noxious though in themselves weak creatures to attempt a sociability which they, at any rate were not good enough for."

He ceased. The lions, whose modesty is equal to their valor, felt in their hearts that they too were not good enough. Silently and with depressed mane and tail each sought out his discarded jackal and resumed his old haunts. Those that survived grew fat again; and they have never since attempted to be so extremely sociable together.

After we had laughed and joked a good deal about this strange fable of Milverton's, he read to us the following essay upon Government.

GOVERNMENT.

The political events of 1848 may be said to have arrested the attention of the civilized world; for such persons as were not themselves concerned in these events, have been constrained, as it were, by their swiftness, their suddenness, and their magnitude, to give some heed to them. Like persons in the street, when a frightened or wild animal rushes by, all pause from their work, or their amusement, or their thought, to look with eager eyes for what accident will happen next. Those amongst ourselves who, during long years of peace, had taken but a languid interest in foreign affairs, have lately been ardent in their study of the current history of the day.

It is impossible but that many thoughts of an unusual kind respecting government, must have

occupied men's minds in the course of this eventful year. It is unlikely that any thoughtful person will not occasionally have given anxious consideration to the government of his own country.

The first thing that will have occurred to any attentive observer of late events, will be a suspicion of considerable deficiency in wisdom on the part of those governments which have shown themselves so unstable. But we may go much further than the present occasion, to demonstrate the deficiencies of modern government. Long ago, Gibbon noticed that all the men employed in the army and navy of Imperial Rome were not equal to the number maintained in modern times by the Prince of one province of that Empire. The historian alludes to Louis the Fourteenth. What a condemnation of the modern system this fact affords! It may be said that the population of Europe is much increased since the times of the Roman dominion; but then Rome had to keep in order the known world. There was to be an army always encamped upon the Rhine and another on the Danube. In Africa, in Spain, in Asia Minor, in Britain, soldiers judiciously placed maintained the public tranquillity. There were of necessity two or three stations for the Roman fleets: and Rome herself had always a large body of her tyrant pretorians encamped beside her. The united

numbers of all these troops do not amount to the number maintained by France of late years in a time of European and domestic peace. Going still further in our researches, I think if any one attentively considers what notices we have of the well-being of ancient cities, suspicions will cross his mind whether our advance in material prosperity has been what it ought to have been. No doubt this slowness of advance merely arises from a new set of difficulties having grown up which require new sagacity to meet them.

But the truth is, that government is now, and always has been, a matter of profound difficulty: and in all ages has been conducted in an abrupt and convulsive manner. Grievances which if early dealt with might be dealt with easily, are suffered to harden and increase at leisure. Indirect remedies (which will some day be found out to be in general the best remedies) are seldom sought for. What is done is too frequently the offspring of clamor and chance: and legislation is mostly provided at a crisis.

History is chiefly a record of the failures of Government. This is the usual current of human affairs: it does not become any of us to complain inordinately of it, or to pride ourselves upon discerning it. But we may strive to lessen an evil which will not be eradicated as long as men are men.

Turning now to our own government, we

cannot but see that we have great advantages; and at this moment are looking on at the disturbances of the world with conscious superiority. We have, as I said, great advantages. The advantage of our insular position can hardly be overrated. Then the nature of the people. They are resolute, enduring, grave, modest, humorous. I lay great stress upon the last of these qualifications. Nothing corrects theories better than this sense of humor, which we have in a greater degree than is to be met with, I believe, in any other people. An Englishman sees easily the absurdity which lurks in any extreme proposition.

Moreover, there is such a thing as fortune, or as I would rather say, divine guidance, for nations as for individuals. That man must be very unsubmitive, I think, and very unobservant, who has not noticed in his own career turning points and important crises, which could hardly be said in any way to have been brought about by him or to be results of his character. The same with us as a nation: we have had our disturbances at the right times, upon great subjects, and conducted by great personages. From us was to be the greatest colonization: and it seems as if we had been trained up with a view to that, accustomed early to independent action, as people who would have to seek their fortune in the world. Now these considerations, far from puff-

ing us up with pride, ought to make us fearful for ourselves, and also kind in our judgment of other nations. We may remember, in estimating other nations, that the character of a people, as of an individual, may be greater than its history would convey: and, perhaps, the utmost we can say of our government, supposing it to have been pre-eminent amongst modern governments, would be some speech of a similar form, though much more gracious in substance, to that which Talleyrand uttered with regard to our public school education:* "It is the best," he said, "which I have ever seen, and it is abominable;" so we of our government may say, It is the best we know of, and there are a good many things to be mended even in it.

In discussing the subject of government generally, it may be divided into three heads: the form of government, the objects of government, and the mode and means of government.

1. FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

This is a very difficult subject to consider, and it is almost impossible to pronounce what form is abstractedly the best. Much must depend upon the nature of the people, their history, their age as a people, the nature of surrounding

* C'est la meilleure que je n'ai jamais vue, et c'est abominable.

governments, (a thing often overlooked,) and the geography and products of their country.

To take an instance as regards the nature of the people in its bearing upon a question of government often mooted theoretically and practically in modern times; namely, whether there should be one or two legislative bodies in a State. There may be a people of such sober temperament, so given to pause and ponder, so careful in the choice of representatives, and so thoroughly versed in political questions and economical knowledge, that they might do well with one legislative body: and wise measures might be carried by acclamation. Not that such a people would be very apt to acclaim, or that being very thoughtful they would be likely to be often unanimous. But if they were, one might safely trust their acclamations; and in this way that people might escape the doubt, the delay, and the expense which belong to a second chamber, and they might do well without long deliberations of any kind. I have never myself seen, heard, or read of, such a people; but there may be, or there may come to be, such a people; and whenever, or wherever, it is found, we must allow that it will be fitted for one legislative chamber. On the other hand, the mischief of having only one chamber will be proportionate to the excitability of temperament, the frivolousness, and the proneness to believe in a majority,

which belong to the people amongst whom such a form of government is established.

Again, to take an instance of the effect of surrounding governments. It can hardly be imagined that a despotism would be extravagantly despotic, or an aristocracy perniciously aristocratic, which was surrounded by countries enjoying remarkably free institutions. Possibly at the present moment one of the happiest forms of government to live under, would be one that had been thoroughly autocratic, which preserved the vigor that such governments possess as regards their foreign action and their internal administration, but in which the arbitrary tendencies were checked by the fear or example of neighboring States, and by free opinions pressing in upon the country at all points.

In asserting the importance of the form of government, I do not mean to say that in itself the question whether the chief magistrate in a State should be an hereditary king, or an elective king, or a president for life, or a president for a term of years, is half so important as the tenure of land, or the laws regarding the transfer of property, or even the arrangements for police and for the preservation of the public health. But then if one form of government is likely to hinder the consideration of these good things more than another; if, for instance, the constitution of the

government be subject to such political mutation, that the State is always preparing to be governed, instead of gaining the advantages of government, then this form is a very important evil in substance. If, on the other hand, the political action in a State is so torpid, that the minds of men are never agitated by political questions, one considerable part of human education is left out; and though this omission may be desirable at a certain age, or rather nonage, of a nation, the sooner it begins to develop into something admitting of more political thought the better. In fact, forms of government may be as diversified as the forms in nature of plants, of trees, of animals, provided there be the same adaptation in the one case as in the other to the surrounding circumstances.

Again, there is a matter connected with the form of government, or perhaps we should rather say, connected with the spirit but expressed in the form, which is obviously of the highest importance; namely, the proportion observed in the original constitution of the different elements of power in the State. For example, how much depends in a free government upon the happy admixture of local and central authority! If there be too much local power, how much time will elapse before the results of collected wisdom and the experience of the shrewdest men in

public affairs will be carried into the local administration; how much unkindness and severity will be added to the local malignity, already sufficient in most places; how completely the imperial ideas are likely to be sacrificed to petty privileges and near-sighted interests! On the other hand, if the central power prevails too much, the minds and energies of the small communities dependent upon it are weakened by disuse; at the centre itself, too much influence falls into the hands of factions, so that suddenness becomes the arbitress of national affairs: and, moreover, there is danger of every thing being sacrificed to any one idea, or fancy, prevailing at the seat of government.

Similar dangers may be shown to exist in any government that is partly representative and partly autocratic, if the just proportions are not well maintained, and room not given for both principles to do their work in. The vague, querulous, disjointed, clamorous, inconclusive way of transacting affairs which belongs to legislative assemblies, would absolutely prevent all peace and prosperity in a country where there was no autocratic power to counteract the evil. And by autocratic power I do not mean only that which may emanate from a president, a king, a consul, or a dictator, but that, for instance, which results from the hoarded weight of wisdom and reputation which may belong to any one man

and which does in our own time belong to one eminent person in our own senate, whose view of a question is something quite different in its effect from that of any other member in the House of Lords, however eminent. Again, if the autocratic element prevail too much, that happens to the whole community which was shown as likely to happen to small dependent communities when the central power is too great; namely, that there will be a sad apathy about political affairs, for men seldom think or care much about matters which they can scarcely ever hope to influence.

The result of all I have said about forms of government, is to show that it would be very pedantic to pronounce upon any form of government as best for any particular country, without a large consideration of its circumstances; that there are peculiar dangers belonging to each form of government; and that much care must always be given to insure a just combination of the various elements of power in a State.

2. OBJECTS OF GOVERNMENT.

In the first place, let us be careful not to limit too much the objects of government. Government in past ages having interfered so much, and often so unwisely, has given us a peculiar

distaste for what we call government interference, and has made men contented to accept a very low view of the objects and purposes of government. But government is not merely police. It is something personal; it has a representative character; its business is not confined to the care of life and property; it has in fact some national part to play in the world, some great character to sustain. In short, it seems to me that the just idea of government is not fulfilled unless it acts with the greatness of soul and the extent of insight and foresight of the best men in the State, and with the power of the whole body, in those matters which cannot be accomplished by individual exertion. Now this is what many a man expresses unconsciously when he exclaims, "The government should undertake this great work; should reward this eminent man, promote that discovery, encourage that art;" or words to that effect. He means that the government should express the wisdom and gratitude of the best part of the nation in a way which that part could not do, or ought not to be expected to do, by its own individual exertion. I am asked then a question, which has been one of the difficulties of modern times, Is a government to have a religion? Is there to be such a thing as a state conscience? To which I say at once, yes. It is to act with the conscience of its wisest and best men in

matters of religion as well as in all other matters ; and so it does in the course of ages.

But to descend to some of its daily occupations. One of the first things for a government is self-preservation. Complaint has been made that Bacon and other writers upon politics of his time insist too much upon preserving the sovereign's rights and powers: I am far from thinking that this care of theirs was mere time-serving, and am inclined to think that there ought to be a similar care and apprehension for all governments on the part of wise men who are in them or live under them. "How is the king's government to be carried on?"—a memorable question, asked by a great man of our own day—is one which should be frequently present to the minds of all persons in authority, or possessing influence.

Now this care for self-preservation on the part of government may seem to be a selfish thing, and likely to lead to mere repressiveness and inactivity ; but these are not the means by which I consider that self-preservation will ever be effected. On the contrary, I believe that if governors and people in authority really understood human nature, they would perceive that some judicious activity on their part is the only thing which can give life to their institutions. There is no strength in stagnation: cautious

passiveness and official negativeness will be found very insignificant barriers against evil, either in quiet or in turbulent time; and such ways are especially to be eschewed in the still times just before turbulence.

I do not mean by this to recommend the mere pretence of action, in order to amuse, or terrify or divert the attention of a people: still less to suggest any thing like the intense wickedness, of which we have seen instances in our times, of undertaking unjust exploits abroad to keep peace at home. These, like all false ways, only put off the evil day of reckoning. But the object of a government should be to breed up the men under it to do with less and less of it, or so to extend its action, that if its interference and control are not diminished, it is only because its sphere of usefulness is enlarged. People in authority should understand that government must be a thing of growth; must attend to, if not comprehend, the future. On the contrary, many of them have not even been provident about the means of perpetuating their own system, much less of making it grow into any thing better.

This brings me to the consideration of one of the great objects of government, both as regards self-preservation and the general welfare of the State. I allude to the breeding up of successors. I believe that almost the greatest test of wise

men being in power, is that they are anxious to provide successors. This loving care for futurity is an equal proof of their goodness and their sagacity. And, as regards their own renown, surely that man's life must be pronounced a great failure whose purposes die with him. That is why many a potent conqueror seems now so small a person in our eyes. The same principles hold good in private life. A man of just and open mind is careful to bring up those around him, to do without him. As head of a family, or an office, or a magistracy, he looks around him, from time to time, to see who can take his place, and how he can be best educated to do so. On the other hand, a grasping tenure of power is the evidence of selfishness or senility. Looking down the long lines of history, it is to be observed, I think, that those who have been most capable of using power well, have clung with the least tenacity to it.

The objects then of government, briefly stated, should be commensurate with those wants of humanity which cannot be supplied at all, or as well, by individual action, or by any corporate body less than the State: these wants will vary according to time and place, will be fewer in one country than in another, but in no country that I know of, are they at present otherwise than very numerous and very imperative.

3. MODE AND MEANS OF GOVERNMENT.

Before entering into the details of this branch of the subject, it will be worth while to consider what are the essential difficulties of government in the abstract. The first difficulty that will occur to most persons is the variety of men's minds. "Quot homines, tot sententiæ!" So many men, so many opinions, as the proverb says. But after all, this is not the greatest difficulty. However numerous and various the elements for calculation, the problem would be certainly soluble if the elements were known. But in governing men these elements are not known. The difficulty is, to understand men's minds; and, from the isolation in which all living creatures dwell, this can never be more than approximated to. More than one great thinker of this generation has studied this isolation, but its effects have not been thought of as regards their bearing upon government. Yet in the earliest stages and the first forms of government, this is the greatest difficulty. How hard it is (almost impossible) to come at the mind even of a child! People will grow up together, will live together in some bond of affection, and with some harmony; and yet the most important parts of the nature of each be unknown to the other, and remain undeveloped. Extending our view from the first form of human government,

the paternal, through all the stages of domestic and social government, till we come to statesmanship, the same law of mental isolation pervading, the same difficulty of governing prevails. Shrouded for the most part in a mist, each individual mind, though it may be partially revealed to us by sympathy, is seldom or never completely seen or comprehended.

How do the above considerations apply to Government in its largest sense? Obviously in many ways. Factional minorities rule, persuading themselves and those around them that they are the voice of the nation. It is from this isolation of mind, which it requires considerable imagination to penetrate at all, that different classes misunderstand each other as individuals do. How often, in all ages, have the governors misunderstood the governed; and the governed (having less of the power of making their way by imagination into the minds of other men) still more misunderstood their governors! Moreover, in government, it often happens that second-rate men of low desires and peculiarly unimaginative natures, (who are called practical because they lack imagination, or because they have been successful for themselves,) are listened to, and that too on critical occasions; and their want of understanding the souls of men is fatal. Again, the difficulty of understanding men is the leading difficulty in the choice of agents: and indeed

it enters into all the varied questions of government—as, indeed, into all the relations of life. It may be said that the above-mentioned evils and difficulties are caused by a deficiency of perception and imagination. But why are great powers of perception and imagination wanted? To counteract the difficulties arising from men's minds being set apart from each other, and therefore hard to comprehend.

Another great difficulty in government is the difficulty of conjoint action: I mean the difficulty of coming to a result, and still more of predicated one, when many people are met together to do or to determine any thing. In order to form some notion of the difficulties inherent in conjoint action, it is advisable to observe it in the simplest instances. Suppose that two men have to walk to a particular place at which they are both minded to arrive at the same time, in which case therefore their wills and opinions are the same as regards the main object in pursuit. But their walking together may very much vary the result, and if a third person had to calculate with exactness upon the result, he would have to consider what the effect might be of their companionship. Emulation might quicken the pace of both: good-nature might retard the pace of one to accommodate the other. The way might be lost in the animation of conversation, or their joint sagacity might find an easier route

than either alone would have discovered. But this is a very simple case. Here, the same action is performed by both men, and is not the result of combined activity. But now suppose that a cannon so placed as to command an important pass is to be fired by fifteen persons, and cannot be fired without the fifteen combining to do so at the same time, each having to pull some wire that is necessary to the purpose. No one is to give the word of command. They have however talked the matter over, and have resolved at what point in the approach of the enemy, it would be best to fire; moreover, they are all true staunch men, and mean to make a good defence. Still I should be very sorry to have much of my country's welfare dependent upon that cannon's going off at the right time, or indeed of its going off at all. These may be thought slight and insufficient instances; but they may bring the difficulty of conjoint action home to the mind; and some of the same causes that operate in these minor instances will operate in the greatest. In Cabinets, Privy Councils, Committees, Assemblies, Parliaments, Commissions, and, indeed, in all bodies met for the conduct or determination of business, not only will vanity and envy be developed by the presence of numbers; but the feeling of responsibility will be lessened; unwise reliance on others be encouraged; indolence find good grounds for being indul-

ged in ; the passions be quickened ; and the question often be buried under, or mislaid amongst, a variety of opinions and suggestions. To form an accurate judgment of what will happen, you have to allow not only for the variety of men's opinions, but for the difference of their powers of attention and of their pertinacity. If we could know the number of resolutions which have been carried under the influence of mere fatigue and disgust, we should be astonished at the effect that weariness and fear of "damnable iteration," as Falstaff calls it, have produced. Besides, the hours are largely wasted in these discussions or attempts at conjoint action ; it becomes time to do something, or to come to some resolve, and what happens to be nearest at hand and most practicable at the moment, is at last in a hurry determined upon. Often the confusion arising from all these sources is such, that though considerable activity is manifested in the discussions and labors of these bodies of men which we have been considering, the result, as in the perturbations of the planets, is found equal to nothing, as La Place consoles us by showing.

I have not dwelt upon the above difficulty with a view to depreciate conjoint action and deliberation, which we must have if we would avoid despotism, but I wish merely to point out an essential difficulty in all government, and one which, in this country, (where there are so many

minor governing bodies for affairs of commerce,) it is very desirable should be thought of and investigated, and limits put, if possible, to the evils attending upon it.

The above considerations (especially those referring to the isolation of mind) may seem too subtle, or too plain; but the most arduous and complicated questions in life are generally resolvable into their primeval elements of difficulty, and should be occasionally looked at in that way. The great questions of human nature are ever coming before us in new forms; for civilization does not help us to escape from ourselves, but only by conjoint action to make the most of ourselves.

To proceed now with the means of government in detail. Incomparably the first means is the procurement of able men; not tools, but men. It is very hard to prophesy of any business or affair in the world, how it will turn out; but it cannot be a bad thing to have an able man to deal with it. The Chinese government has now subsisted many generations, proceeding upon the principle of choosing the best men for official employment. I do not say they have gone the best way to choose them, but their intention has been to find them, if they could. Such a spirit should actuate every governing person, who should consider the man he appoints



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to an office as in some measure his representative—a representative, too, as will often happen, for life. Governments will be sure to have cause enough for shame, if they neglect this duty, for a bad appointment breaks out some day or other.

But the difficulty is to find able men. To hear some persons talk, you would suppose that it was the simplest thing imaginable to make good appointments, and that it needed nothing but honesty on the part of the person appointing. But sound men of business are very rare, much more rare than anybody would be likely to conjecture who had not had considerable experience of life. And what makes the difficulty greater is, that the faculty for business is seldom to be ascertained by any *à priori* test. Formal examinations of all kinds fail.

For look what it is that you demand in a man of business! Talents for the particular business, the art of bringing out those talents before the eyes of men, temper to deal with men, inventiveness together with prudence, and in addition to many other moral qualities, that of moral courage, which I have remarked to be the rarest gift of all.

As it is, very many men fail from a want of proportion in their gifts. Here is a man so clever that he apprehends almost any thing, but there is a light flame of restless vanity under-

neath this superficial cleverness, so that it is always boiling over when you do not want it. One man makes it his business to doubt, another to fear, another to hope, another to condemn; one is the slave of rules, another cannot construct any thing unless he have free space for his theories, which this old world does not now admit of. Many of these defects are not fully ascertained until the man is, absolutely tried. ("Capax imperii nisi imperasset.") On the other hand, there are men whose talents for governing are not developed until they are placed in power, like the palm-branches which spring out only at the top of the tree. But still these considerations must not induce men in authority to say that since choice is so difficult, it must be left to chance or favor; but it only shows how wary statesmen should be in their choice, and that when they once do get hold of a good man, how much they should make of him.

Next to offices come honors as means at the disposal of government. Cant, which is the creature of civilization and must be expected to attain a great height as civilization advances, takes many forms; and one of the forms it has taken in modern times is the pretending to despise honors, calling them baubles, tinsel, toys, trappings, and other hard names. This is all

nonsense. They are very valuable things, and men of clear and open minds, who are after all less ignominiously swayed by such things than other men, will tell you so. Nelson's exclamation on going into action, "A peerage or Westminster Abbey," will find some response in the minds of many of the worthiest amongst us. In fact it is difficult for a government so to deteriorate and degrade its honors as to make them unacceptable.

Now, in considering the distribution of honors, I am not going to say any thing Quixotic, such as to pretend for a moment that they should always be given strictly according to merit. There are several reasons why they should not. In the first place, if they were always given according to merit, it would detract from the power of the sovereign or governing authority of whatever kind. A sovereign or a minister should have it in his power, I think, occasionally to confer honors upon a friend or adherent upon the simple grounds of friendship, adherency, or liking; and it may be remarked, as I have noticed before, that the friends and favorites of the great, from Horace and Virgil downwards, have in general been remarkable men. Then again it should not be declared that honors are to be given absolutely according to merit for this reason, that it is impossible to provide the time, attention, and skill requisite for

such a distribution. Thirdly, if honors were supposed to be given strictly according to merit, how much that supposition would aggravate the discomfort of the unsuccessful, that is, of the great majority of us in the world! At present, men find ready consolation in the thought, which is a just one, that not only is merit frequently left unrewarded, but that oftentimes it stands fatally in the way of worldly success.

Having now given several reasons against attempting to make honors entirely dependent upon merit, I may with more boldness affirm, that it is indispensable to confer many of them according to real desert. Otherwise government parts with a substantial source of power and influence. In the creation of any order or dignity, there may be instances of favoritism or of yielding to second-rate and partially unworthy motives; but if the order or dignity is not to lose much of its favor with mankind, it must contain and illustrate a fair amount of worth and service.

In order to make the honors more desirable and capable of being more easily dealt with, they should be of various kinds, and even some of the very highest amongst them should not require the possession of fortune in the person honored. Finally, it should be remembered that the distribution of honors is one of the especial functions of government: which, like coinage,

taxation, or the declaration of peace or war, cannot be performed by private individuals. It is a case where the State comes in as a person and proclaims, "This is the man whom the king delighteth to honor." If the king delights to honor foolish people, or people, as Hamlet describes them, merely "spacious in the possession of dirt," the honors will be accordingly depreciated, and government will have debased this important function of conferring honors, a proceeding as injurious in its way as debasing in the coinage would be in its.

In coming now to the mode of government, i. e. the way of applying the means of government, it must be first observed how difficult it is to enter upon such a subject without going much into detail; and, moreover, for the suggestions to be of most practical use, they must have some reference to the modes of government at present existing. There is no country which has been a country of great affairs for many years, that will not have adopted various excellent devices for the furtherance of business. The form for instance of a Cabinet, and many of the Cabinet arrangements for business in this country, are the result of much adaptation, and could not easily be amended. It is obvious that in every form of government considerable attention should be paid to the distribution of functions amongst

the great officers of State; and that care must be taken to make the functions of these officers grow and change with the growth and fluctuation of the affairs of the country. In our own country the great officers of State are too few. I do not presume to speak of any division of the Lord Chancellor's functions, not being conversant with them. But the present duties of the Home Secretary might be divided, I think, with great advantage. Let there be a Minister of Justice, who should have direction in all official matters connected with the course of justice and the maintenance of order. The custody of lunatics is a branch of the Lord Chancellor's functions which might well devolve on this new officer. The other Home Secretary might retain the name of Home Secretary, and be intrusted with all matters appertaining to the education, the health, and the sustenance of the people.

Again, it appears that, for a very long time, the duties of Colonial Secretary have been too much for any one man. Where is the difficulty of having two Colonial Ministers: one for Canada and the West Indies; and the other, taking the management of all the other colonies, and being called the Colonial Minister? Does any one who knows any thing about the subject, doubt of there being enough business in the Colonial Office to employ any two of the greatest

minds in the country as chiefs of that department?

But there may then be too many in the Cabinet. If so, remove those officers who have less distinguished functions. The Paymaster of the Forces and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster have sometimes been in the Cabinet. Let them give place to the Minister of Justice and to the Secretary for Canada and the West Indies. I am well aware of the advantage of having occasionally one or two places in the Cabinet for men who cannot undertake the management of laborious departments. But, without going further into detail, I feel confident that Cabinets will not be greatly embarrassed in finding room in some way or other for the two great offices proposed.

Having now supposed the business divided amongst certain departments, and fit persons chosen to preside over these departments, and able men selected to fill the subordinate offices; there is still to my mind a want of something which I think may be noticed in all Governments of modern times, and that is, a power of attracting from time to time fresh ability and fresh views, and putting the department in reasonable communication with the world about it. I believe that what I am going to say is new, and being new and therefore unpractised, it is liable to the objection of not being practicable.

I am sure, however, that the deficiency I have noticed does exist, that it will not be supplied by Committees of the Legislative body, nor even by permanent commissioners; and therefore any way of attempting to supply this deficiency may at least deserve attention. What is wanted is to bring more intellectual power within command of the heads of departments, and, moreover, that this power should neither be elicited in a hostile manner, nor on the other hand that it should be too subservient. It should rather be attainable without the walls of an office than within. It should be at hand for a minister; but it should not be too closely mixed up with ordinary official life. The plan then is this, that there should be gradually formed, in connection with the two or three first departments of the State, a body of able men not bound down to regular official employment, but who should be eligible for special purposes—for the minister to devise with, to consult, to be informed by. There will be a likelihood of freer range of thought and more enterprise amongst such men than amongst those uniformly engaged in official duty. They would be of the nature of Counsellors to a Department, without forming the check and hindrance that a council would be. It can hardly be doubted that it would often be an immense advantage to a minister, to be able to call in a man of known ability, conversant

with the department and yet not much tied by it, to hear his opinion upon some difficult dispute, (from the colonies for instance,) in which both the minister and his subordinates may be liable to err from their very knowledge of the parties. Then, again, what a gain it would be to place on this staff men of long standing in the colonies, who had returned to pass the remainder of their lives here, of whose experience the minister might well avail himself! This same body would give the minister a means of choosing official men such as has never been devised. It should not have any collective power. Parliament is sufficient check upon any minister. In modern times ministers want strength more than restraint.

Having treated, though necessarily with great brevity, of the form, the objects, and the mode and means of government, I come now to what is perhaps the most important part of the subject: namely, how the governed ought to regard government. People forget, when they talk of government as a thing apart from themselves, how large a portion of the motive force of government they are themselves, and what duties therefore are incumbent upon them. Now, he who does not bring into government, whether as governor or subject, some religious feeling, by which I do not mean any thing that he may

find exclusively in the Church of England, or the Church of Rome, or any other Church in the world, but who does not fulfil his duties to his fellow-man from some higher motive than expediency or the intention to fulfil the conditions of some imaginary social contract, is likely to make but an indifferent governor or an indifferent subject. It is from the absence of this pious feeling that all systems of government which are merely the creations of logic, (of which an Abbé Sièyes can make two in a morning,) are so liable to be upset, perhaps as speedily as they are made. You talk of rights, duties, powers, checks, counter-checks, citizenship, patriotism, and get up all the apparatus of government, and yet it breaks down with next to no weight upon it. And why? "Each man," as the poet Thomson said when his friend wanted him to marry some lady of many charms and merits, but who had not the charm of being lovable in the poet's eyes, "Each man has an uncontrollable imagination of his own." So, as regards these quickly-made systems of government, in which no appeal is made to any thing above humanity, a man says, This may be all very well, but it is a scheme that does not suit me; I am not your creature; and he forthwith sets to work to demolish a scheme or form of government which has not the least divinity in his eyes; which does not suit his "uncontrollable imagination."

But men ought to be so brought up as to look with a reverent eye upon the civil ordinances of life. Almost the greatest distinction between wise and good men and the thoughtless and reckless is, that the former are ever anxious to get the utmost good out of all that is around them. They see that what with the difficulty occasioned by the acute disorders of the world, such as failing harvests, wars, pestilences—and also by the chronic complaints, namely, the daily troubles and distresses of life, government is a very serious matter, and they learn to regard it religiously. They see, or perhaps feel more than see, that withal there is a spirit of beneficence and order throughout creation, and they are conscious that they are acting in consonance with the great laws of the universe and the will of their Maker in endeavoring to make human affairs go on well and wisely. This reference to something above them and beyond them gives earnestness to their wish to improve civil institutions, takes away recklessness in doing so, represses selfishness, establishes justice, and represses self-will. Without piety there will be no good government.

In free countries, (and since constitutional modes of government are spreading, more countries will come under the denomination of free,) a large body of the people will be required to act in a spirit of piety, not only in regard to

their duties as subjects, but as governors; for with them rests the choice of representatives. It becomes incumbent upon them to seek out wise and good men to represent them, always remembering that the wisest and best will have to be sought for, and that they will be the least likely to fall in at once with all the prejudices of their constituents. In ancient days, cities of the Roman Empire would pray to be allowed to build a temple to the reigning emperor. Not giving way to impulses of servility, but anxious to take a noble part in imperial transactions, in dignifying the empire to which they belong, cities have now an opportunity of doing so by nominating men of worth to represent them. If exclusively led by local influences, yielding to clamor, showing no confidence in what is great, appreciating no worth that will not square exactly with their present views, allured by foolish, glittering, or bitter words; or still worse, if basely bought by money, representative bodies intrust great functions to unworthy persons, let them no longer complain of any doings of the imperial government, or expect that their gross delinquency in the early stages of the formation of government will somehow or other be remedied before the superstructure is completed; that what is corrupt in its first growth is to be pure in its full-blown maturity; that cedars of Lebanon will be developed from fungi on the wall.

ELLESMERE. I wish you could give a volume to this subject; but no—on second thoughts I do not. Your volume might be treated with more respect than an essay, but would be put aside with other solemn works upon the subject, whereas the essay has some chance of being read. It was only the other day that I was reading in one of Hallam's books an account of the works of some writer on government, and they seemed to me to be admirably fitted for the present day as well as for all time, but the author's name was one I had never heard of before, and the treatise being a laborious and learned one will of course remain unknown to the generality of people. And then again, if you were to write a book you would begin to think how to fill it up, instead of studying, as in an essay, how to contract the uttermost what you have to say.

DUNSFORD. I thoroughly approve of what you have said about the spirit in which government is to be regarded by both the governors and the governed.

ELLESMERE. The pith of that is the advice to electors. The fault in the present day is not that popular feeling is not sufficiently represented, but that the intellect of the country is not. Political education is, in comparison with other branches of education, highly developed here. Consider the manner in which newspapers are conducted. How admirably on the whole they (I speak of them as if they were persons) have behaved throughout these trying times. It were to be wished that more of the statesman-like ability which is rife in the country should find its way into parliament.

MILVERTON. Or that ministers were more independent of parliament, at least in the choice of official men.

DUNSFORD. I am sure that the ordeal which men have to go through in order to become members of parliament, or to continue such, is of a kind which must be peculiarly offensive to some of the minds we should most like to see mixed up with public affairs.

MILVERTON. Yes, of course; that is one of the drawbacks upon representative government. The evil might be mitigated though by creating a certain number of official seats in parliament—say for the first and second office in each department. Some of the fittest men to be listened to, are amongst those who have neither the leisure, the money, nor the temperament to cultivate a constituency. The plan of ex-officio seats would greatly add to the independence of public men.

ELLESMERE. It is by no means a new suggestion.

MILVERTON. A suggestion may be ever so old; but it is not exhausted until it is acted upon, or rejected on sufficient reason.

ELLESMERE. I think ministers of late years have been too much afraid of parliament. I believe if they would attempt less in the way of legislation, prepare what they do intend to do with great care, and insist upon carrying out their intentions, things would get on much better.

But let me tell you a story. My friend —, the great traveller, was lately describing to me the polity, if so it may be called, of a nation that lives somewhere

between some mountains and some seas, I forget where, but the boys at the nearest national school would be able to tell you if you only gave them one or two facts to go upon. Well, my friend tells me that when any thing of political interest occurs amongst this people, (whose name I have forgotten,) every thing that is foolish or wise, kind or uncharitable, true or false, is allowed to be said upon it in all parts of the nation; then throughout their territory these savages collect together in little knots, dance and howl and rave and dress themselves in ribbons. From these minor assemblages they select two or three individuals, my friend could not make out for what reason, but you know how difficult it is to understand a foreign people's ways. Sometimes he thought it was for their fatness, sometimes for their youth and innocence, sometimes the choice appeared to be connected with the favorite liquor of the country; there seemed to be no rule of any kind. These individuals, for whatever reason chosen, were then elevated upon little stages, which appeared to have the effect of making them talk wildly and at random; and my friend conjectured, that as we say here "in vino veritas," so there it was held, that upon these stages whatever folly was in a man was sure to come out of him. One or two of these exalted individuals were then chosen, it seemed to be for a quality that we should much approve in our schoolboys, for, as he observed, those were chiefly favored who could repeat like a lesson learnt by heart most quickly and with most alacrity the cries uttered by the howling multitudes around them. All the individuals thus chosen were brought into a large booth surrounded by several

smaller ones. Then some very odd ceremonies took place, almost of a musical kind. One of the people in the big booth would get up and say something, as my friend conjectured, about the matter in hand; then another said the same thing with more words and a little stammering; a third repeated the same thing with more words and more confusion; and, perhaps, introduced some new sayings of his own, which, however, had nothing to do with the question, and at which they all laughed. There appeared to be a chorus and an anti-chorus, each having its peculiar tune. So the clamor would go on, like an air with many variations, for days, weeks, months, years, varied by occasional dancings in and out from the large booth to the small ones, which seemed to be a very exciting business. At last, when the subject had been danced upon and sung about till they were tired, something was done or something was agreed not to be done.

Very frequently a sudden gravity or wisdom (the result, my friend thought, of the weather) would fall upon the people generally and upon the small section of it in the great booth; and then they ceased their singing and dancing, embraced one another, said they were of one mind, and one and all joined in bearing out with pomp to the great tombs of the nation the dead body of some wise resolve which they might have carried into effect long ago, and which might have been of great use to them.

But my friend said they seemed to be a contented people, for at least no man amongst them could say that his folly had not had a hearing.

This is a strange story ; but travellers do tell strange stories.

MILVERTON. You may ridicule any thing you know, Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. How very jealous these writers are ! nobody's fables are to be admitted but their own, or what is like their own. If my narrative had been a little more delicate and refined, and not told in my broad, coarse way, but in reality a great deal more severe, Milverton would have said it was very clever and very appropriate.

MILVERTON. You would make out all our proceedings to be such folly, whereas we know that really very great and solid improvements in legislation have been effected in the last half century. What I am at present afraid of is, lest a certain vulgarity of political thinking should prevail. That word vulgarity is rather vague, but will express to you what I mean ; that kind of thinking or feeling which induces men to sacrifice the future and obliterate the past for the sake of the present ; which despises all that is chivalrous, recognizes no indirect advantages, does not conceive that there may be a national soul as well as a national stomach, would willingly see a colony drift away if it could not be proved to have returned five per cent. in hard cash on the outlay of the mother country. This vulgarity of thinking is ramified in various directions, and will appear in the way of discussing things as well as in the conclusions arrived at.

Now I believe that vulgarity is generally as much opposed to wisdom as it is to good taste.

ELLESMERE. Give me your hand : I forgive you

for your depreciation of my traveller's story in consideration of that last sentence of yours: and I will even be audacious enough to add another clause to the aphorism. Vulgarly is generally as much opposed to wisdom as it is to good taste; and good taste is too indolent to take the trouble of proving the near relationship between herself and wisdom.

LUCY. May I go back to the travels of Mr. Ellesmere's friend and ask whether there was any thing else talked in these booths besides politics?

ELLESMERE. Yes, Miss Daylmer. This savage tribe was not so supremely happy but that they had lawsuits sometimes to make them happier.

MILVERTON. That reminds me of saying that I think perhaps the greatest legal reforms are to be obtained by official reforms. As things now are, the Court of Chancery, saving your presence, Ellesmere, is the thing most resembling the Holy Office of former times. It is the Protestant Inquisition, only that, instead of confining its victims in dungeons, it allows them to go about for a time, just as if they were not ruined, but they know better.

ELLESMERE. I shall thwart your intention of dragging me into a defence of the Court of Chancery by going back to your projected official reform, or rather official addition—your imaginary Council. Will they cost any thing, these gentlemen?

MILVERTON. Certainly; for you cannot rely upon work that is given: but cost what it will, let us be well governed. The general satisfaction arising from wise conduct in the executive is almost inappreciable in money. A hundred thousand a year more spent in

getting head-work done for the State would probably be most economical expenditure.

ELLESMERE. Yes, I agree to that. Let me ask another question. Are these Councillors to be known?

MILVERTON. Yes, as well known as the under Secretaries and Clerks of the departments.

ELLESMERE. Well now I will tell you my opinion. The scheme I think is a good one—too good to be carried into effect. The Minister who should propose it would be liable to be told he had all manner of mean and selfish ends in view, and that would scare most public men.

MILVERTON. I can only say, it ought not. Any man who does understand at all the question of official reform ought to make a point of bringing forward his views, if only from the consideration that these subjects will always lack popular breezes.

ELLESMERE. Reverting to the general subject, Milverton, I am not sure that the essay does not tend too much to bureaucracy.

MILVERTON. No, indeed! This busy, bustling, energetic England is the last place where there is any danger of bureaucracy, as you call it: and we often do want some moulding power to put all this energy into form.

ELLESMERE. Well, I believe no harm would come from strengthening the executive intellectually. If we found official people riding us with too sharp a curb, we should soon throw them over our heads. And it is a great grievance not to have things well administered. There is a capital passage in one of Sir Francis Pal-

grave's books, saying how maladministration in little things forms the current of public discontents. I forget the words.

MILVERTON. There is something I wanted to say in the Essay, but I did not see how to bring it in—and I am not sure that I can fully explain myself even to you. I should like to introduce more of the feeling of personality in the executive. Personality is not the word perhaps; but you know what I mean.

ELLESMERE. Yes, I have some dim notion. You told us you would have a State conscience.

MILVERTON. Yes, but this does not, of necessity, declare that a State must hold certain theological tenets and enforce them by bayonets, test acts, or other extreme modes of reasoning. As a land-owner, in the government of a private estate on which persons of different religions dwell together, may govern equitably, without at the same time ceasing to uphold his own opinions by fair means, so may a State. But, at any rate, if the idea of a State is not to convey a distinct intellectual being, it should have a distinct moral being. It should give us the idea of the best man of that day and country, if not of the best theologian. Where the executive differs from law, is in its possessing personality. It is not an immovable scientific apparatus, but represents flesh and blood, and is flesh and blood. A good executive officer feels in all he does that he is fulfilling a part, however small, of the functions of a creature that has rights and duties. He will not defraud it, nor suffer it to defraud others. A monarchy helps to keep this personality before us.

The idea of a conscience belonging to bodies of men

has been ridiculed—and no wonder, considering what we have known men do in their collective capacity throughout all ages. But it means simply this, that duties follow power. A railway board has to satisfy its conscience respecting the matters which it has taken in hand.

ELLESMERE. What do you say, Dunsford, to all this? You are sure, though, to be glad of getting in a conscience, though but a State one.

DUNSFORD. I have felt all along out of my depth, having no experience in any of these matters. But Milverton's views seem to me to be likely to insure more humanity in administration.

ELLESMERE. But now, Milverton, I wish, instead of indulging us with all manner of generalities about State consciences and such things, you would give us some of the results of your own experience of official life. You often talk about what a sad thing it is that men should be subdued by their trade or calling; but, I can see, your short experience of official life has impressed upon you an alarming amount of official cautiousness. You very rarely talk about the men you must have observed or their ways of business: all this with you is "*altâ mente repostum*," merely coming out in aphorisms and dark sayings of various kinds.

MILVERTON. Well, I will tell you what struck me most in official life—the singular honesty and good intention with which it is carried on in England. I do not mean merely the common honesty of not betraying secrets and not seeking after sinister purposes—that merit official people share with bankers' clerks and the

mercantile community in general, whose honesty is something wonderful—but I mean the less obvious honesty of being careful that things should be fairly considered and that right should be done. I believe, and with some experience of the subject, that if the private letter-books of most ministers of modern times could be laid open to the public, containing copies of those letters marked “private and confidential,” the public would soon throw them down in disgust as unreadable, from their not containing any thing wrong or scandalous, and therefore not being at all amusing. Where I do think we may find some fault, as I have said before, is in the want of courage in official men. You see the ordeal they have to undergo from the Press and Parliament is such, that we, the public, have long ago surmounted the danger of ministers doing any thing fraudulent or unconstitutional; *now* our fear ought to be, lest they should be too much afraid of us to undertake what they think right. It is the same in dealing with public as with private agents. If you look too sharply after them, they will endeavor to escape your blame rather than to do your business. Of course there will be noble exceptions to this, but such will be the general tendency.

ELLESMERE. I really believe you would have us imagine that statesmen and official men are more honest than lawyers.

MILVERTON. No—not exactly that—but their (the statesmen’s) business is to find out what is right and serviceable—not what can be best said or done for one side. The training is in that respect a good one for the mind.

ELLESMERE. And now, Miss Daylmer, we have heard next to nothing from you about government. Ah, you women are too wise to write or talk about what you know best how to practise. Suppose we were writing a formal essay on feminine government, how should we enumerate the means at the disposal of government? I should say, Poutings, sullenness, tears, dancing with some one else, judicious faintings, then half smiles half tears, loving looks—these things perpetually and rapidly succeeding one another—so that men's hearts would be harder than Alpine rocks if they could withstand such alternations of vinegar and sunshine.

LUCY. What we should need most would be sensible men for us to have to manage; which seems also, if I make out the essay, to be the greatest difficulty for your grand doings in government as for our little ones.

DUNSFORD. As Ellesmere and Lucy have begun to talk nonsense, Milverton, I think we may consider the conversation concluded, and break up our sitting.

ELLESMERE. No, I wanted to say something about honors. I quite agree with what you said about them, Milverton; but I want to show you the reason why they are so much desired in all ages. It occurred to me for the first time while you were reading. Men desire marks of honor for themselves, not to make a noise in the world and to be pointed out by the fingers of the passers-by, so much as in order to show their private friends that they are not such fools as these friends say they are, and to quell domestic malignity.

MILVERTON. It is not malignity, Ellesmere; at least very often not. It is frequently mere ignorance. If you had a younger brother, for instance, of great musical talents, his gaining any honor or reward for their exercise would prove to you the existence of those talents in a way which you would never have arrived at for yourself. Your respect for him would probably be increased, as you found it was agreed upon by those who should know, that he could do something well. Honors, you see, not only reward merit, but declare its existence.

ELLESMERE. I suppose you are right: at any rate you will be able to outvote me, for I can see you have Dunsford and Miss Daylmer on your side. But let us leave off now talking about government, and have a walk. Thank goodness I have not many persons to govern—only myself and my clerk. The former, though, often contrives to give me a great deal of trouble.

SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

As the following essays are all upon the same subject, I bring them together, although they were not read in the same place or in the same year, as will be seen ; and, indeed, did not always follow in the order in which I have placed them.

A short time after our last reading, Milverton mentioned that he should be ready to read something more to us, and intimated that it would be of a graver character than what we had been used to hear of late from him. Notwithstanding the threatened gravity, Lucy begged me to let her accompany me ; and Ellesmere did not refuse to attend. We met at our accustomed place in Milverton's garden ; and, after the usual greetings, Ellesmere thus began.

ELLESMERE. Well, Miss Lucy, and so you are here

too. What courage there is in the female breast! Did not Milverton inform you that he was going to tax our patience largely? What is your idea now of a grave subject.

LUCY. One that should make even Mr. Ellesmere in earnest, as distinguished from a dull subject which would only make him more fond of gibing and more provokingly severe.

ELLESMERE. Fair maiden, your remarks are unpleasantly clever; and if you say any thing more of the same kind this morning, I will give out that you are a wit, a ruinous character, I can tell you, to affix to a young lady in her teens.

LUCY. Pray do not, sir; I am all submission for the future.

MILVERTON. I do not know, Lucy, whether my subject will come under your definition; however, I will not keep you any longer in suspense,—Slavery is the subject.

ELLESMERE. The very one I guessed and had just whispered in Dunsford's ear—(he had done so.) You see I had given a shrewd look at your book-shelves, and watched the additions from time to time. Then the problem was, to see what one subject would fulfil the requisite conditions, and account for a man not utterly irrational reading books of travel, geography, books about the different races of mankind, pamphlets upon sugar, blue books on the West Indies, and old Spanish chronicles. And by a process of combination and elimination, which, if I were to work it out on paper, would occupy a notable place in the ninth edition, ninth is it not, (the rogue knew that I was only

preparing a second) of Dunsford's work on the second part of Algebra, I found out your subject.

MILVERTON. Does it frighten you?

ELLESMERE. No, not a bit—a fine extent of dark ground to work our picture of life upon. Besides, I have never read any thing about it worth reading. I do not speak contemptuously: there may be good books upon the subject, but I have never seen them. And I remember, too, having routed up the matter a good deal for the “compulsory manumission” case. A great case that; nearly the greatest I ever was in.

MILVERTON. I am very glad indeed that you take so kindly to the subject. I was afraid I should have a good deal of coaxing and driving to get you over the first start, as with a young horse.

ELLESMERE. Considering what I have gone through in the way of listening to essays of yours—how attentive I have always been when you have sat down there and told me that Virtue was a fine thing, I do not think you can fairly compare me to a young horse, but rather to one who has carried many a dull load in a most good-natured, pack-horse fashion.

MILVERTON. Dull the load I am about to share with you is not: sad to the uttermost it is. I have of late been looking with some care into the history of Slavery, pondering over some of those Spanish tomes which had not escaped your observant eye, Ellesmere; and the stories they tell are much darker and sadder, I think, even than the usual run of history. I have not been able to escape their influence, after laying them aside.

DUNS福德. Yes; I have noticed you have not been very conversable lately.

MILVERTON. However, I had the other day a strange dream of fancy which seemed an answer to some of my troubled questionings.

ELLESMERE. I see in these wild parts of the country the love of the marvellous still abides. Come, let us hear about the dream. Like all people who have any thing strange to tell, you are longing to tell it, I can see.

MILVERTON. I will then. There is a beautiful creature haunts these hills; whether to call it insect, fly, or moth, I hardly know; but it is about so long, has a slender body which two transparent blue wings arch over, like a tent, and the delicate feelers form the cordage of the tent. This creature (I believe it to be always the same one) comes often when I light my lamp, and suns itself in the light thrown by the lamp upon the white wall near. It never falls with a whiz into the flame, like others of its winged tribe, but contentedly reposes on its lamp-warmed spot.

ELLESMERE. This will be a night-mare story.

MILVERTON. Two or three days ago, I was much tired, and began to set about my work very listlessly, but spurring myself up to it, at last made a beginning. I was busy with an account of wars, and destructions, and massacres; and I dare say, occasionally dropped some words which showed what I was thinking of. My patient blue-colored friend had, I remember, taken her station on the wall when I first sat down. I thought how we built our palaces and formed our pleasure-gardens on the ruins of the past; and what part those un-

fortunate men, or nations, might still have in our gains, upon whom the advance of human society seems to have been worked out with especial signs of agony and terror. Pondering these things, I suppose I slept; at any rate, the tented moth said suddenly to me with a clear crisp voice, sounding as if the words came through the finest net-work: "Large, sad-colored creature, I could speak to you of many things not to be found in those dark characters you rest upon."

"Beautiful daughter of a day," I answered, "you are pleased to mock me, but so you speak with that sweet voice, speak on."

"Say, daughter of long ages, as well as daughter of a day," she, rustling, replied; "for it is not with us as with you: at our birth the experience and the knowledge of our insect parents and of their parents come to us at once: we look back upon a web of continuous life which your histories only give you names about."

"This, then, is their 'instinct,'" I said to myself, but would not say it to her; thinking, in the strange way of reasoning that goes on in dreams, that she would not understand the word "instinct."

She continued, "Nor are we the only creatures gifted with this life on life: your large-shadowed race wonders to see an animal or bird fondly attach itself to this man, not alluring it, and fly the other, offering all it wishes: but they know the lineage of those who have loved their race: a host of loving little words and deeds and pleasant memories attend the offspring of such a race. Nay, I myself have seen what your poets scarcely dare to feign, the inferior animal seek injury

to itself at the hands of one of you men, to stop his rapid course to irredeemable evil, hoping to detain him by pity of its own distress."

"Forgive the question, lady-moth," I asked, "but was the sacrifice successful?"

"The race," she said, "that walks upright and casts large shadows is as our coarser brethren the common moths, borrowing small wisdom save from experience, nor much from that.

"But listen to me of the past. For those dark days dimly pointed out before you on that page, I look along the line of ancestral memories, and feel that I was there myself, not as in these gentle climes, soft-colored, but dusky, and having something of the fierceness of the sun that bred me there. Fast have I flown before the heated blast of some burnt Indian village, rolling towards the woods; stealthily have I flitted round the trembling torch borne by the false Indian maid coming to warn her Spanish lover that her people gathered even now upon their destroyers; and quietly, as at this moment, have I basked in the light of the lamp where the Spanish captain sat in his tent writing to his sovereign to tell him how the Indians would not love the Christian faith—and often since have I sat by lamps making the pale student's face look paler, and heard them murmuring such thoughts as yours."

"Gracious lady-moth of many ages," I interrupted, "tell me of these things—speak to me more."

"I showed thee," she replied, "that other creatures were bound by links thou didst not dream of; and seemeth it not to thee there may be some bond of love and knowledge throughout thy race, the race that

chooses ; something that makes the present a brother hood ; the future a linked hope ; the past an endless pity, poured by the whole race like balsam on the wounds and sorrows of those who bled and suffered for it most ; and compared to which present human sympathy is but as nothing."

And as she spoke with eagerness, a light quivering motion ran along her wings, as upon a tent stirred by the first breeze before sunrise. I looked more earnestly at her, and awoke. She seemed to me as usual, fastened to the wall in her quiet way. I began my work again. Many times I looked up from it, but she sat there unmoved : and before I had finished, she was gone.

DUNSFORD. I assure you, Ellesmere, our friend here is highly favored ; I have rarely seen this beautiful insect which, as I dare say you know, is of the species—

MILVERTON. Forgive me for interrupting you, Dunsford ; but please do not tell me the name. I do not want to know it. It will be some harsh-sounding scientific name, I dare say ; but if I only associate in thought such a name with her beautiful presence, she may never bask near me any more.

ELLESMERE. You may tell me the name, Dunsford. The insects never talk to me.

LUCY.

"In vain, through every changeful year,
Did Nature lead him as before ;
A primrose by a river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more."

q*

MILVERTON. I must now begin.

ELLESMERE. Yes, that formidable roll of paper warns us that we must not talk much before the reading, if we mean to have any discussion afterwards.

Milverton then read the following essay.

SLAVERY.

There are many modes of dividing this subject. Slavery might be treated historically, tracing it from the earliest ages through the various nations in which it has existed, and which it has tended to destroy. As the general polity of Judea was unlike that of Greece; and that of Greece unlike that of Rome; so the state of slavery was widely different in each of these nations. In modern times, too, slavery presents various aspects, according to the nation in which it is found. The slavery amongst the Africans themselves is not like the slavery amongst civilized men. Brazilian slavery must differ in many respects from North American; that of the Eastern from that of the Western world.

The best modes, moreover, of dealing with slavery must largely differ in different places: and in truth each nation where slavery exists, requires the subject to be treated with a view to the local and historical peculiarities of slavery in that nation.

Again, the subject might be treated as one of political economy; and doubtless this presents one of its important aspects. Or, it might be considered in reference to political welfare generally, and looked at mainly in its effects on national well-being.

I prefer dividing the subject in what may be deemed an arbitrary method, but one which might naturally be adopted in addressing an individual—an individual slave-owner for instance. I shall endeavor to show that slavery is cruel, needless, unauthorized, mischievous to master as well as slave; that there are no races in respect to which the preceding propositions do not apply; and, finally, that slavery can be done away. If these things can be shown to any slave-owner, I think he ought to listen, and I think he will. After all, men are swayed by argument: they do acknowledge the supreme authority of reason. It may be said—look at the course of the world: where is your force of reason there? I answer, the truths of reason are darkened by sophism, blunted by exaggeration, and when “immersed in matter,” as they must be in dealing with human affairs, there is a haziness and many-sidedness about them which render them very hard to apprehend. But bring them well out, and men must obey them. Self-interest, passion, pride, every thing goes down ultimately before sound reasoning. You

may deny reason: you may deny the sun. You cannot, however, even when blind, escape the genial influence of either. Hence the first of all things, in a great cause, is to reason it out well. When it is securely reasoned, it is gained. There remains much to be done by the head and by the hand, with the tongue and with the pen; and there may be many partial issues of success and defeat; but superior intelligences, if such regard mortal affairs, would know that the work was, spiritually speaking, done. Now I do not mean to magnify any literary attempt in this matter, much less my own, but simply to state my conviction of how the work is to be done. Only by profound and earnest investigation, which will lead in writing or action to enlightened and earnest endeavor. The unspeakable misery which has been caused by partial and purblind efforts in the cause of slavery, makes one approach this subject with a feeling of awe, lest one should be adding any more crude ideas, to be worked out in practical suffering upon other people.

Philanthropy, often as blind as allegorical Justice, can seldom make a single right step without the guidance of wide-seeing thoughtfulness. It may hereafter be proved that England has occasionally committed great errors of judgment in her endeavors to put down slavery and the slave-trade. Yet, even if it should be

so, we must not forget that the concern felt among the British people for the question of slavery, has doubtless been one of the main supports to all philanthropic endeavor in the matter. This concern may often have been wrong directed for a time; but, without it, all interest in the subject might have died away. Wishing that, throughout Christendom, this interest may approach in enlightenment, what it already is in sincerity and fervor, I will now begin the more formal discussion of the subject.

1. THAT SLAVERY IS CRUEL.

Some may think this too obvious to need proof. But the danger is, that men's attention may have been dulled by many statements tending one way, which have not however been brought to converge to any conclusion in their minds. Besides, after hearing much respecting any great evil, the world begins to think that it has heard chiefly the salient points on one side and that there may be another view of the matter, which has not been brought forward, or which has not had its due weight. Then, again, if the subject be one of immense magnitude, like the present, the largeness of the evil oppresses men's minds, and makes them anxious, in self-defence, to get quit of the subject, or to be

content with very vague impressions about it. It is necessary, therefore, in any connected essay on slavery, to recur to the evidence of its cruelty, to endeavor to arrange the evidence of this cruelty in some order, and to estimate fairly its extent.

But first we may ask what should we predicate of slavery, if we knew nothing minutely about it? Should we not say, that when once man was subject to man, as an animal is subject, he would shrink away into mere animal nature? Should we not expect to hear of chains and stripes, of physical brutality of all kinds? Without any history of slavery, should we not divine, from the conduct of free men to each other, that no man was fitted for absolute power? And if we turned from political to domestic life, should we not say, that, the smaller the sphere in which absolute power prevailed, the greater would be the danger of its being abused. If we then considered that in a system of slavery, absolute power would be delegated not only to men, but to women and children, should we think it less of an evil on that account? Again, if we heard that in this imaginary state, the slaves outnumbered the freemen, could we doubt that cruel precautions would often be taken to avert the dangers of insurrection? And, in fine, if we were told that the slaves differed in race and color from their

owners, should we not conjecture that this circumstance would add disgust to cruelty, and darken injustice with loathing.

Now let us see what has happened.

For the present, I omit saying any thing about the treatment of slaves amongst the Jews. That treatment is often adduced to justify the modern treatment. It is not for its supposed mildness that it is adduced.

The Greeks, with the exception of the Spartans, are considered to have treated their slaves mildly. We find, however, that two of the worst things which are ever connected with slavery prevailed in Greece. These are the inequality of the numbers of male and female slaves, an inequality maintained for the same reason as in some modern nations, that it was cheaper to buy than to rear slaves: and the evidence of slaves being always taken with torture. The slaves in the mines worked in chains, and died in great numbers.

With respect to the treatment of slaves under the Romans, I cite the following passage from an elaborate work on the subject.*

The law allowed vast latitude to masters; and they availed themselves of it to the utmost. A blow with the hand was the readiest mode of expressing displeas-

* An inquiry into the state of slavery amongst the Romans, by *William Blair*, 1833, pp. 106-113.

ure; but the lash and the rod were most frequently employed for domestic correction, and as *stimuli* to activity. If a slave spoke, coughed, or sneezed, at forbidden times, he was flogged by a very severe master. The toilet of a lady of fashion was a terrific ordeal for her tirewomen, who suffered for each curl unbecomingly arranged, and were punished for the faults of the mirror. Whips and thongs of hide or leather were kept hanging up, as a terror to offenders, and a ready means of vengeance; but were not the only or least dreadful instruments of flagellation. We are not informed what number of blows or lashes was usually inflicted for particular misdeeds. Petronius presents a master, threatening with one hundred lashes any slave who should be guilty of leaving the house during an entertainment. This was, no doubt, meant to appear an excessive chastisement for the offence; yet, in a subsequent age, three hundred lashes was, often, the amount of punishment awarded for very trifling faults, which, more generally, drew down a sentence of between thirty and fifty stripes. Fetters and chains were much used, for punishment or restraint, and were, in some instances, worn by slaves during life, through the sole authority of their masters. Porters at the gates of the rich, were generally chained. We can scarcely suppose that this usage obtained from a wish to make a needless display of power: it may have been adopted as a mode of punishment, or to insure the constant presence of the slave at his post. Field laborers worked, for the most part, in irons, posterior to the first ages of the Republic.

A larger view of the subject may be obtained by considering the laws passed by successive emperors to improve the condition of slaves.

The master's power of life and death over his slaves, was first sought to be legally abolished, by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Before the existence of laws sufficient to repress the excessive tyranny of slave-owners, extraordinary steps were taken by Augustus, and by Hadrian, to mark their reprobation of the odious barbarity with which slaves were, in some instances, treated. The reproof given, by the former of those princes, to Vedius Pollio, for condemning a slave to a horrid death, on account of accidental mischief, is well known; and the latter emperor banished a lady of rank, because she was notoriously cruel to her slaves. Constantine placed the wilful murder of a slave with that of a freeman, and expressly included the case of a slave who died under punishment, unless that was inflicted with the usual instruments of correction. But the effect of this humane rule was done away by an after enactment of Constantine himself, and the more unfavorable law was retained in the Theodosian code. And in the fifth century, Salvianus assures us, that, in the Gallic provinces at least, men still fancied they had a right to put their slaves to death. Several councils of the church endeavored to repress slave murders, by threatening the perpetrators with temporary excommunication; at least, Justinian rejected from his code the less humane, and preserved the other of Constantine's decrees, which we have noticed. By a law of Claudius, a master who exposed his sick or infirm

slaves, forfeited all rights over them, in the event of their recovery ; and the same consequences followed the exposure of infant slaves. The Petronian law (passed A. U. C. 813) prohibited masters from compelling their slaves to fight with wild beasts. Hadrian restrained a proprietor from selling his slave to a keeper of gladiators (*lanista*) or to a pander (*leno*), except as a punishment ; and then, only with the sanction of the judge. Till a late era, the ties of affection and of blood, among slaves, were not saved from arbitrary disregard by any law introduced for the good of the servile classes. We meet, indeed, with some traces of a feeling against the separation of the members of servile families, at an earlier date, but no positive legislative enactments on the subject were issued, prior to several humane rules established by Constantine.*

Passing from these ancient times, when men's hearts were hardened by paganism, we have to see whether a religion of acknowledged love and mercy has eradicated the cruelty of masters to slaves. Doubtless it has mitigated it : and even amongst the Romans, we may note the power of the church coming in to aid the slave, and may fairly expect that her influence will always tend that way. Still, though it has met, it has by no means mastered, the cruelty which, except in rare instances, is so apt to grow up, wherever man possesses an absolute property in his fel-

* *Blair's Inquiry*, p. 85.

lows. I shall not attempt to trace the cruelties attendant upon slavery in the middle ages. Suffice it to say, that slavery gradually tapered down to serfdom, and then by degrees expanded into freedom. At this period, from the beginning of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, there was a lull. Then, as occasionally in modern times, the complacent historian might think of sitting down and writing the decline and fall of slavery; but all the while the evil had been but sweeping and garnishing its house, and was to return with seven-fold vehemence to take up its abode again with men.

A new career for slavery was suddenly opened by the discovery of America. It would not be behindhand with the other continents in its experience of human suffering: nor the pestilence of slavery, unlike its brethren, be least fatal in the west. Las Casas and Viera might be quoted to show the cruelties which stimulated them in their unwearied efforts to save the original inhabitants from servitude. The Indians vanished from the scene, giving way to a more enduring race, who were thenceforward fated to monopolize the miseries of slavery. The evidence on which the British people abolished slavery, and other nations the slave-trade, might now be adduced. But as it must have been of the same character as that of quite recent times, we need not enter upon it.

To come then at once to modern times. And here, whether we take the laws, the general statistics, or the individual facts related by travellers, the conclusion we must arrive at is the same. The same, too, as regards all countries where slavery exists, though of course there are many modifications. The slaves are uneducated, here from policy, there from neglect; and social relations are everywhere ruthlessly sundered.

A poor free man of color with a slave wife and four children says, pointing to the only white passenger in company with the traveller from whom I quote :

If my boys were like that lad, I should be as happy as a king. Is not your wife free then ? I asked. No, was his reply. I wish she were. We live together at present, and our children with us—all but one, whom her master has taken away. The fact was, the owner of this poor creature had had the meanness to saddle her husband with the cost of maintaining the children, and even allowed him to pay the poll-tax upon them—amounting to about a dollar and a half a year each, including the State and the town tax. As the children become valuable for work or sale, he will claim them; and the father may look in vain for compensation.*

* *Abdy's Journal*, 1833-4, vol. ii., p. 353.

The planters themselves must perceive this evil:—

He (a planter) replied, that he himself was a lawyer by profession, and that no legal validity ever had been or ought to be given, to the marriage tie, so long as the right of sale could separate parent and child, husband and wife. Such separations, he said, could not always be prevented, when slaves multiplied fast, though they were avoided by the masters as far as possible. He defended the custom of bringing up the children of the same estate in common, as it was far more humane not to cherish domestic ties among slaves.*

Another traveller in the United States, whose name is well known wherever the English language is, says:—

In the negro car belonging to the train in which we made this journey, were a mother and her children who had just been purchased; the husband and father being left behind with their old owner. The children cried the whole way, and the mother was misery's picture. The person who had bought them rode in the same train; and every time we stopped, got down to see that they were safe.†

That social relations are sundered, is too well known to require proof from the above extracts,

* *Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. i., p. 184.

† *Dickens's American Notes*, vol. ii., p. 17.

but individual instances represent to our minds the force of general facts.

The personal treatment of slaves is almost everywhere too rigorous. It is said, and justly, that in estimating this matter, we must take into account the punishments inflicted on criminals in free States.* The nature, however, of the discipline in the two cases is so different, that any comparison of quantity must fail to represent the truth. It was justly complained of in the Roman times, that slaves were fiercely punished for small offences; but for great ones, for which they might have forfeited their lives (those lives being so much money to their owners) they went scot-free. So that even if the amount of physical suffering were the same in the punishment of criminals in free States and the discipline of slaves in slave States, the amount of good result in the case of the slaves might be much less; of bad result, much greater. But this is not the gist of the case. Draconian laws are bad: but they are laws, and not individual caprice. Moreover, in European life, punishment is the exception; it is not connected with

* If we could fairly estimate the misery of all offenders in the prisons, penitentiaries, and penal settlements of some large European province, and then deduct the same from the sufferings of the slaves in a large Southern State of the Union, the excess alone ought, in fairness, to be laid to the charge of the slave owners. *Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. i., p. 190.

a man's daily work, except amongst convicted criminals. But from the nature of slavery, productiveness being the merit of a slave, his most frequent punishment will be connected with his daily work. His fear will therefore be continuous. And it is the fear of punishment which in his case will be the greatest injury—a continuous fear of punishment depending upon individual will. What is there in the punishment of free criminals which can be compared to that? This fear, too, comes upon the whole race, good and bad. Again, where domestic service is the portion of a slave, it is still more hopeless for him by any conduct, however watchful, to escape punishment. For the duties of domestic service, being of a mixed and uncertain character, will often be said to be performed well or ill, according to the present good or bad temper of those in domestic authority. And fearful will be the evil when such authorities have an excessive and immediate power of punishment. Therefore, even if it could be proved that the amount of physical suffering, endured by the criminals of some European State, were greater than that endured by the slaves in a slave State, it would be but a most fallacious test in favor of slavery. The freeman comes under the whip; the slave has it always hanging over him. The honest man in this or any other free country does not think about punishments; no lash is resounding

in his ears. Personal fears are not the wages that make him work. You hear some men say, in hasty argumentation, that the poor man in a highly populated country, who is dependent for his daily subsistence upon work being given to him by some superior, is almost a slave. But between that "almost" and the reality lie the possible extremes of civilization and barbarism. And the difference both in the grounds and in the mode of their respective punishments is one of the items of difference between the freeman and the slave, large enough in itself to make such a contrast in character between them, that let them be descended from the same stock, in a generation or two the family resemblance would, I believe, be lost from this one circumstance alone.

But to proceed with details, one who says that he was an eye-witness of what he relates, states that he had seen a black man receive, at the "whipping-post, no less than one hundred lashes from the cow-hide, for striking a white man who had treated him most barbarously. He had struck the latter with his open hand. For this crime his back was cut nearly to the bone, from the nape of the neck to the loins, and presented one continuous mass of gore." *

The author of the *Journal* before quoted from

* See *Abdy*, vol. ii., p. 242.

calls at the houses of some free blacks, and finds in one of them a negro said to be one hundred and fourteen years old.

He had retained his faculties, and was strong enough to walk without assistance; though his feet were much crippled by the sufferings he had undergone: having been compelled, for six years, to drag a weight of fifty-six pounds, attached by a chain to his legs, while at work. In addition to this instrument of wearisome annoyance, he had worn an iron collar round his neck, fastened to his waist, and projecting over his head, with a bell suspended from the upper part. He was a very religious man; and it was for preaching to his fellow slaves, that these excruciating tortures were inflicted upon him. When we asked him if he had ever been flogged, he threw his arms up wildly, and seemed to labor under an oppressive load of recollections. This was invariably his custom, when the subject was recalled to his mind. Yes! he exclaimed, the cowhide was my breakfast, and dinner, and supper.

My object in quoting the two last extracts is not so much for the sake of the cruelty exhibited, as to indicate the disproportion between the crime and the punishment which will be likely to exist where slavery prevails. In such an abnormal state, things in themselves harmless, indifferently, praiseworthy, or slightly wrong, will be considered by the ruling powers, and almost un-

avoidably so, as crimes of magnitude and full of danger.

From the accounts of the numerous travellers who have visited the United States within the last few years, it would not be difficult to select instances of various kinds of cruelty which is the result of slavery. Amongst such instances, those would be justly conspicuous which illustrated the feeling of caste, that feeling which, as Coleridge has pointed out, is the origin of the word unkindness; and which adds the difficulty of overcoming disgust to the difficulties already sufficient in the exercise of charity to those dependent upon us. It might also be shown how soon those persons who have no rights by law come to be considered and treated as animals, or things. But it is a most ungracious task to dwell upon instances of cruelty, and I am anxious not to do so the least more than is needful; it often appears a magnifying of individual instances: it cannot be so needful in a country where the question of slavery is already much agitated and where the press is free; and, moreover, I have a feeling that those black and white races will yet live amicably and wisely together; and that it will be a great pity to place upon record more than is necessary of circumstances which might hereafter aggravate the feelings of either.

Before quitting this part of the subject as regards America, I may remark that there is evidence to show, what may already have occurred to the minds of my readers, that kind treatment from his master must often fill the slave, if he has any thoughtfulness, with great concern about the future. Surely, no change that occurs in the vicissitudes of civilized life can equal the misery of going from a humane master to a cruel one; and few anticipations can be more unwelcome.

We have not much evidence about the Portuguese colonies in Africa, but what we have is sufficient to show that the treatment of slaves is much the same there as elsewhere.

Here (Novo Redondo) they often send a slave into the interior for many weeks, to purchase ivory and slaves. I happened to be in the house of an Italian, when one of these traders returned, after an absence of three weeks, and gave an account of the business which he had transacted; the reckoning was made out with the aid of small beans, but the accounts did not exactly tally, and the poor slave was dragged into the courtyard, where he was whipped, and then fastened by a chain on his arm to the wall, where he remained without shelter, till he could be sent by the first opportunity across the sea. Deeply did I regret that it was

not in my power to place the inhuman judge in the situation of his unfortunate slave.*

Again, the same traveller tells us :†

I had scarcely been in possession of my new lodgings for an hour, and was occupied in arranging my effects, when my attention was suddenly attracted by the sound of stripes, repeated at regular intervals. I soon perceived that some person was undergoing corporal chastisement in the court-yard, and at once hastened to the lady of the house; I found her sitting as usual at the open window, enjoying the cool sea-breeze and the fine prospect of the harbor, while a young negress was busily engaged in needle-work at her side. To my anxious inquiry, respecting the loud beating which still continued, she replied smiling, that one of her needle-women was receiving, by her orders, six dozen palmetadas (blows in the palm of the hand) because her stitches were badly made. My indignation and disgust being excited in the highest degree, Donna Catarina was induced to send the other girl to the court-yard, with orders that the punishment should be discontinued.

In the same house—

To the very last moment, three or four of the youngest slaves sat on the ground in the adjoining apartment,

* See *Tam's* Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa, vol. i., p. 201.

† Ibid., p. 252.

waiting in case they should be summoned, and ever on the watch, to pick up any thing that might fall upon the floor. If the unhappy little things, from four to eight years of age, were unable to resist the influence of sleep, the application of the usual remedy was not delayed for a moment, and the last sound which was daily heard in that house, was the wail of these poor young children.

The state of the slaves in Cuba forms no exception to the general rule.

The mistress of many a great family in the Havana will not scruple to tell you that such is the proneness of her people to vice and idleness, she finds it necessary to send one or more of them, once a month, to the whipping-post, not so much on account of any positive delinquency, as because without these periodical advertisements the whole family would become unmanageable, and the master and mistress would lose their authority.*

The proportion of males to females is, we are told, nearly three to one. But that is not all.

It is notorious that there are individual estates in islands with 600 or 700 negroes upon them, from which the softer sex is entirely excluded. In this respect I am bound to say that the Creole proprietors evince

* See *Travels in the West, Cuba*; with notices of *Porto Rico*; and the slave-trade, by *David Turnbull*, 1840, p. 54.

much more regard for the laws of humanity than the emigrant planters from Spain or the United States.

The same traveller then speaks of an estate where the owner, an American, "has congregated no less than 700 male negroes, to the exclusion of a single female, locking up the men, during the short period allowed for needful rest, in a building called a barracoon, which is, in fact, to all intents and purposes, a prison."*

The loss of life amongst the negroes in Cuba amounts, on estates where sugar is grown, "to the appalling proportion of ten per cent. per annum, or cent. per cent. per decade, thus inferring the necessity of a total renewal of the numbers by importation in the course of the ten years."†

This loss will not be wondered at, when we find that in the crop season "only four hours, or at most four hours and a half out of the twenty-four, were allowed for sleep."‡

As regards education, we have the authority of a Cuban priest for saying that

A field negro was never in church in the whole course of his life, except at the time of his baptism.

* See *Travels in the West, Cuba ; with notices of Porto Rico ; and the slave-trade*, by *David Turnbull*, 1840, p. 146.

† *Ibid* , p. 150.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

If the Ingenio or the Cafetal happened to be close to a town, a few favored individuals might be allowed to go there when the crop season was over, but never by any chance, or under any circumstances, during the busy period of the year.*

It would not be difficult, I am sure, to find many instances of humane masters in all the countries we have been referring to; but I have scarcely found any thing which would support the idea that slaves, as a class, are kindly treated, except, perhaps, an instance like the following which occurs in Africa itself.

Mahriam, the slave-girl, who sat with the rest, was not neglected, for a larger portion came to her share than to any of the others. Slaves generally are considered by their owners in the light of near relations, or rather, perhaps, as foster children. When their conduct is so very bad as to alienate the affection of their indulgent masters, they are not unfrequently dismissed.†

Even here, however, we see what is likely to happen from the fatal temptation of slave-trading, for the same traveller, who gives the above account, adds:—

Latterly, however, a greater relaxation in the prin-

* See *Travels in the West, Cuba*; with notices of Porto Rico; and the slave-trade, by *David Turnbull*, 1840, p. 285.

† *Johnston's Travels in southern Abyssinia*, vol. ii., p. 176.

ciples of the Christians at Shoa, as in other portions of Abyssinia, has led to a punishment for refractory slaves, by selling them to their Mohammedan neighbors, who soon forward them to the coast. Canon law prohibits this custom of selling slaves altogether, but a system of smuggling in this unhappy commodity is extensively carried on, by the very priests of the religion itself, who are continually bringing slave children to Aliu Amba from Gurague, and other Christian States to the south of Shoa.

We have now gone over some of the principal points connected with the treatment of slaves. It is true that they have not the care for their means of livelihood which belongs to necessitous free men. The domestic animals enjoy a similar absence of care. But in all other respects obviously, and as much perhaps in this freedom from care if we did but see the full effect of it, I think we can have but little hesitation in pronouncing that slavery is cruel. In saying this, we need come to no uncharitable conclusion respecting slave-owners, or assume for a moment that they are, originally, more hard-hearted than other men. But the truth is, none of us are fitted to own slaves—much less are people who are brought up from childhood as masters in a slave household.

To many of those living in the midst of any system, however bad, much that is said of it by strangers must seem a great coil about nothing.

We can hardly fancy that what we have been long accustomed to can be otherwise than absolutely right. Then, too, although those who look at a mode of life from without, may see wisely into it, being able to compare it with other things, yet, on the other hand, they naturally fall into some errors in detail which could not be made by those who are engaged in that way of living. The traveller makes just and far-seeing remarks, perhaps, on the political position, geographical relations, manners or general aspect of some town; but the inhabitants of the place mostly find something to laugh at in his description of details. They know every street, and make no minor mistakes. And then, again, if they can find no flaw which renders the observer of their ways an insufficient observer in their eyes, there are other things which may make them pay too little heed to his remarks. It is hard to profit by the wisdom which is unpalatable to us, and which comes to us in a matter that we are so versed in that we do not see it. Here then we must hope most from men of genius and imagination, which take a man, as it were, out of himself. We think much of foreseeing people; but there is no foresight without insight, and it may be an easier thing to judge wisely of the future than to look clearly into the present and the near. The man who bred up in the midst of slavery sees all the mis-

chief of it, could do the most against it. And let us hope that many such men will be found to enlighten and purify the public opinion around them. If not, there is no assurance against the cruelties we have been describing hardening more and more into a system. People began the slave-trade upon the theory of its being "a commerce for the ransom of slaves, or for the making converts to Christianity." We now find that a slave is openly called a "bulto de efectos,"* or bale of goods, and has come to be considered rather as a thing than a person in all slave-owning parts.

But whether those in the midst of slavery perceive the evils or not, it is impossible for any unprejudiced person to be dead to the magnitude of those evils. And the cruelty of it is most likely in the first instance to awaken attention. War is a horrible thing. We read a surgeon's description of a battle-field, or trace the famines, pestilences, and desolation that attend on armies, and can then form some notion of

* The Captain said, in answer to the observations and accusations that were made against him, "that there were about 100 bales embarked at your port infected with the putrid fever, and that all the precautions that we could use on board did not suffice to stop the mortality; so that we may say only half have been saved of the number that ought to have been yielded by the abundant and well-assorted barter put on board, calculated to produce more than 400 bultos."—*Turnbull's Travels in the West, Cuba, &c.*, p. 423.

what war is. But there is no denying that good may come from it. Civilization has been extended by it. Even those apparently preposterous crusades introduced the barbaric Northerners to the arts and sciences of Southern and Eastern climes. Races have been improved by conquest—both the conquerors and the conquered. Valor has been cultivated. Is it nothing that we owe to Chivalry? Then, too, for what noble causes men have bled—with what complete abnegation of self! I admit to the full measure the evil of war; but it is not all loss.

So, again, of religious persecution. This is a hideous thing to look at, and, when we consider the extent of it, stupendous. Waldenses, Albigenses, Lollards, Wickliffites, Hussites, Protestants, Catholics, Huguenots, Jesuits, Jansenists,—how redolent of wars and massacres, of burnings, imprisonments, and tortures is each name! I suppose there is no conceivable view of the sacrament which has not been burnt into men at some time or other. But martyrdom is a great thing. There is something gained for humanity by it—something done. "The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church." And, what I venture to think of more importance than the establishment of any earthly Church, the blood of martyrs has been the seed of freedom of opinion.

We have seen that there is a bright side to two of the worst things that sky looks down upon—a gain already realized. But what can we say for slavery and the slave-trade? What good can be said to have come out of them? What they may bring out is hid in the inscrutable ways of God, and one is loath to believe that all this misery goes for nothing. But at present what have we? Sugar—for incalculable cruelty, for evils, which even in this world one sees no end to, danger of States, degradation of humanity—for all these things more rice, cotton, and sugar. That is chiefly what we get.

Think, on the other hand, how important is any evil that affects the beginnings of nations. If poison poured in at the source of a river, instead of being diluted, diffused itself, without diminishing in strength, throughout each drop till it tainted the whole current from source to fall, that would be something like the mischief of inserting any moral taint into a young State. Consider what a small thing Negro slavery was at its outset—an evil the extent of which was utterly unobserved by those who at first had most to do with it. The great discoverer of Negroland, Prince Henry of Portugal, thought he was fulfilling a most pious purpose in his discoveries and captures. Ferdinand of Spain allowed the first negroes to go to America, prob-

ably without a conception of the consequences. And it may be doubted whether Charles the Fifth, when in his retreat at the monastery of St. Justus, meditated much upon his Indian legislation. Deeply penitent, we are told, for many errors he had committed in the way of non-persecution, he probably thought little of his permission for the import of negroes to his new-found States, or of the causes which led to that import being needed. Yet the Inquisition itself was to dwindle down into harmlessness, Spain to sink into comparative insignificance, all his European policy to count for little; while this new growth of slavery was to be the scourge of nations, and the enduring perplexity of the wisest men.

DUNSFORD. Strike out that word, "enduring," Milverton; endure it cannot, endure it shall not.

ELLESMERE. Well done, my dear Dunsford! I have seen for some time that you have been at boiling point, quite ready to go out in a boat by yourself and attack a slaver (some one did the other day); or to set up an academy for negro boys in a slave State, perhaps the more dangerous thing of the two.

MILVERTON. Have I dwelt too long upon the cruelty?

ELLESMERE. For me you have. But then I was brought up amongst the defenders of slavery; and the facts which used to come out in a quiet way, quite con-

vinced me of the opposite to what my friends used to argue fiercely for. And their arguments did something in the same way too.

MILVERTON. I know the impatience of modern readers, but I cannot proceed in a subject of this magnitude without a large stratum of facts.

ELLESMERE. People can use in this chapter what some man has called the first privilege of Englishmen—that of skipping. By the way, imagine a nation condemned to read books through!

DUNS福德. Pray do not cut out any of the facts in this chapter. The length of it will not frighten away anybody who is worth convincing. If people do not care enough about a subject to linger upon the details of it, their aid will be ignorant and their sympathy shallow. When we do care about any thing or body, we do not know what it is to be tired with details about them.

ELLESMERE. Well, well, keep it all, if you like. I really believe I am not a fair judge: the thing is self-evident to me. But I must say in general I like facts; and seldom think we can have too many of them. But do not let us say any more at present about this part of the subject. I have a sort of sickness at heart after hearing so many horrors, though I am not as soft as Dunsford.

MILVERTON. I am in hopes that the locomotion of the present day will have some great effect upon the slavery question. Many more things are carried over land and water by those puffing steam-engines, than are entered in the way-bill or the purser's book.

ELLESMERE. Yes, travelling is a grand thing. I

don't mean your statistical, political, benevolent, or scientific travelling, though that is often very serviceable. But I am thinking of travelling for one's self. Horace may say what he likes about care laying hold of the tow-rope of a steamer, or sitting behind the horseman like his master's coat strapped round a groom; but a judicious traveller cuts the tow-rope or undoes the buckle, and care is obliged to drop off behind.

DUNSFORD. Very Horatian these similes!

ELLESMERE. Then the coming back is such a delight. After a man has been beyond the Alps some time, there is absolutely a halo in his mind round the idea of parish business at home. But then he must have contrived to keep tolerably clear of letters.

MILVERTON. Yes, I have often thought I could make the fortune of a small German principality, by persuading the prince to forbid any English post coming in or going out. Then set up some mineral waters in a town with a queer name: it would be instantly overpowered with the best class of English visitors. Ministers of state would be sure to have frequent attacks of a peculiar disorder which nothing but the waters of this place could cure. You see, the beauty of the scheme would be, that there would be a complete excuse for not writing, as well as an impossibility of receiving letters.

ELLESMERE. Very good, certainly: but don't you think the wish to write letters would come directly letter-writing was forbidden?

MILVERTON. No; letter-writing is one of the few things you may safely forbid.

ELLESMERE. But what excuse should the prince have?

MILVERTON. Oh, English intrigue. Don't you know the general theory abroad of our deep-laid schemes? To be sure there are about ten or twelve Englishmen (I should rather say ten) who care about foreign politics. But this droll theory of the foreigner is quite enough basis for my scheme.

ELLESMERE. Special messengers! a "hurried Hudson"—how can you meet that?

MILVERTON. Ah, there is no such thing as perfection. But this principality would be the best thing that civilization could offer. Of course a man cannot be secure without making a Robinson Crusoe of himself.

ELLESMERE. There would be this good too. A man, seeing how well the world gets on without him, may just bethink himself whether he could not get on without the world. He may reflect that as it is not at all a slave to him, he need not be quite a slave to it. Of course all separation from the world tells this; but the more complete tells it the louder.

MILVERTON. There is another great merit of travelling: it does not enable men to impose upon the world. A travelled ass is never for a moment mistaken for a sensible man; a stupid pedant some times is.

ELLESMERE. Yes; for we think we can thoroughly judge about what anybody can tell us of foreign travel, but the man who is skilled in Greek Iambics has got into a region where—I, for one, do not mean to follow him, and am ready at all hazards to pronounce

him a sensible man rather than to do so. Of course no knowledge gives sense or conversability in any high signification of the words. Neither travelled lore nor Greek, nor even knowledge of life, if brought out upon us inopportunately, delights us.

MILVERTON. More than that,—the knowledge which is most delightful to others, is not that which a man takes out of his mind, as he would money out of his pocket, (both having the impress of another head,) but what he gives you stamped with his own nature—his own knowledge.

DUNSFORD. Not acquisition, but accretion.

ELLESMERE. Yet it will not do to put down knowledge too much, though obtained without originality, or clumsily made use of. Now I have no doubt that a foolish man does become decidedly a more conversable being by travel.

DUNSFORD. Yes, we have more topics in common with him, and he can enlighten us upon minute points. But we are thinking of something higher than this, when we talk of knowledge being made delightful to others.

MILVERTON. There is a very humble kind of travelling which just suits me—going short distances and stopping at obscure country inns. Strange places they are: with odd rooms which the builder seems to have built by bits—now finishing one side and then considering what he should do next, and being a good deal guided by the humor he was in. Then the pictures—such as are to be seen nowhere else—actors and actresses whom we recollect our fathers raving about, but whose memory lives only at country inns

now. Then a stray statesman who was a considerable man, supposed to be often walking up back-stairs, in George the Third's time, but he also is now glorious only in the parlor of some inn. Beauties too, "prints from Sir Joshua," the "honorable Mrs. ——." The blank might be filled up now for aught that we should be the wiser.

ELLESMERE. Yes—inns are the intermediate stage between notoriety and utter oblivion. The busy world has its new pets, but the old inn cannot afford to part with its old ones.

MILVERTON. Then the landlord and landlady, and the whole establishment indeed, except the two post horses who are fat, have seen better days. With what an air the host brings in the first dish—not unlikely to be the last also—to show you that he knows how things are done, and can do them himself!

ELLESMERE. Then the books!

MILVERTON. Yes, a thumbed volume of some defunct critical journal which was the hope and terror of authors who wrote in wigs, or the Rambler, or the narrative of the landing of the French in Ireland, or some book that you would find nowhere else. The last time I was at a country inn, *the* book was a biography of prize-fighters. Sad chronicles they were, told with much earnestness; how Jim This was stout-hearted and skilful too, but thought he could do more than he could; and Tom That could have done any thing but that he was too fond of something else; and Sam The Other, who could beat all the world, had somebody at home whom he was more afraid of than all the world." It was very like reading of great con-

querors and mighty kings, only that the names were shorter.

ELLESMERE. Let us have our next meeting at an inn.

MILVERTON. With all my heart.

DUNS福德. Suppose we drive to —— and stop at the first inn we come to.

ELLESMERE. Agreed. But now to return to the subject of the Essay. After all, Milverton, do you see so much to object to in being a slave? In freedom there is certainly room to dash yourself against things, but it is small comfort to a man to think that he has made a great part of his own misery himself.

MILVERTON. Yet that must be the best education for another world in which there is some freedom for good and evil. If you begin discussing the matter with reference to happiness alone, you may as well take in the animal creation, and contend that they are better off than men. Suffering of all kinds is not without its instruction: but surely that suffering is most instructive, which a man has had something to do with in making for himself. Perhaps the worst state of man might be defined to be, not that which has most suffering, but that which has most suffering with the least instruction and discipline growing out of it.

DUNS福德. I think you are answered, Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. I wonder what a man would make of all his experience, if he could have it again for this world.

MILVERTON. M—— and I were saying the other day what a good work of fiction it would be of the St.

Leon school, to make a man live over again, having an indistinct recollection of his former life, enough to give a warning sometimes.

ELLESMERE. I suppose he would gain something from his experience. He would at least tumble off on the other side. But I return to the charge, notwithstanding Dunsford says that I am defeated ; and I ask, as I have asked before, how is it that all your geniuses and great men in general do not contrive to make themselves happier. Of course they are the foremost in freedom, and therefore I take them as the most conclusive examples. I know what you will both say against happiness, and, perhaps, I had better not keep to that word ; but still I cannot help thinking that there should be at least a serene order of mind in the greater intelligences. Now looking both at the past and the present, as far as my experience goes, I should say—what should I say?—at any rate it would not be any thing very favorable to the said geniuses and great men, that is, to the first in the ranks of the free.

DUNS福德. I do not admit that they are necessarily the first in the ranks of the free. The humble and the good are there.

MILVERTON. To go back to men of genius and great men, we happen to know some of their lives pretty well. It has been truly said,* they are the only lives we do know well ; and even tolerably clear water, exposed to a Drummond light, shows a great many pugnacious, horrid-looking animalculæ. Moreover, there are particular snares for men of genius. Their sympa-

* By Sir Bulwer Lytton.

thics are wider than those of other men. They transact more life. The misery of the world has more room to play about in them. They were, perhaps, intended to have more evil to contend with than other men: that they might look into it, and express it, and thus help others to bear it. So best for them possibly, and so best for the world. At the same time it may be said that such men are by no one thing subdued. Their imaginations and their sympathies, which admit much of life and life's worst struggles to them, create an outlet for such things to pass away from them. And say what you like, my dear Ellesmere, we should all of us rather have been so many Miltons than so many slaves, though, by chance, the latter may have contrived to have got less misery out of their chains than he out of his freedom.

ELLESMERE. Well done—wound up with a burst of enthusiasm addressed to the jury. But I give up for the present. Some day we shall know more about these things, especially if we can get that great desideratum in literature, the life of a perfectly common-place man—of a man whose life no man would think worth writing, but which might be the most so of all. However, I want to change my ground entirely. I am not sure but that what I should most object to in the minds of the great men I have been thinking of, is not an especial product of Western civilization—a certain formal, restless, unresigned, self-tormenting, world-ar-ranging disposition.

MILVERTON. What a number of adjectives to that one poor substantive! A most polygamic substantive!

ELLESMERE. But, without joking, you know I have

always had some Eastern tendencies; and cannot but think that we have great defects in our western views of life.

MILVERTON. D'Israeli, I declare.

ELLESMERE. It may be: I never care from whom I have an idea, so that I have it as my own. I have had this one a long time as you know. I perceive something of what I admire and wish to have for the West, in other developments besides the Eastern—occasionally in what we read of barbaric tribes. I have ventured before to hint that all that we take for civilization may not be so.

MILVERTON. I do not mean to say that it might not be well to look with attention to any wise and great ideas that there may be in the East: neither do I doubt that there is in every form of partial human development something that it may be well to preserve. Still, my dear fellow, what a gain it is, that in this Western world we keep our hands off each other, and there are such things as property and law! But I am talking common-places to you.

ELLESMERE. Yes: these are very good things. We have only just got them, though. I was thinking rather of mental gains or losses—also of various social arrangements not altogether involved in property. But we will not talk any more about it just now. Some day or other I shall be able to show you what I mean. What are you laughing at, Miss Lucy?

LUCY. I am only picturing to myself Mr. Ellesmere as a native of the East, reclining upon gorgeous pillows, smoking, and watching an interminable Eastern dance.

MILVERTON. Both beautiful things. The delight of smoking, I should think, must be to see the vapor "fold and swim," as Tennyson says. These vaporous forms are the very poetry of motion: and as for dancing it is to me the most beautiful thing in the world when it is supremely done. People go into ecstasies about pictures—

ELLESMERE. I wish nine-tenths of the pictures that have been painted had never been preserved: it is such a nuisance having to go and see them. Proceed.

MILVERTON. I was going to say that people go into ecstasies about things that are intended to represent the beautiful, (and which oftentimes do,) but they will not see the beauty around them.

DUNSFORD. You do not see that trying to represent beauty teaches us to see what beauty is—makes us alive to it. No people see so much beauty in everyday life as great artists.

MILVERTON. That is true, I dare say.

LUCY. But what were you going to say, Mr. Milverton, about dancing? for that is what you were coming to, and it is a subject which Mr. Ellesmere will kindly allow us ladies to have some interest in.

MILVERTON. Merely that I could watch it from morning till night, if it were good.

ELLESMERE. So could not I. I would rather see the beauty of an intricate law case, any day. You laugh. You chuckled over those people who could see beauty only in pictures; but you cannot imagine the beauty of an intricate, mazy law process, embodying the doubts and subtleties of generations of men. I say,

looked at in that way, there is something picturesque in an Act of Parliament.

MILVERTON. Well, you are now certainly making fun of us: and, indeed, you have been very paradoxical throughout the conversation. Not but what there may be an exquisite beauty of form in any well-arranged intellectual performance, from Acts of Parliament, up to the Allegro and Penseroso.

DUNSFORD. How Miltonic we have been to-day! But touching this dancing, you do not approve, Milverton, of operatic performances? I shall really be scandalized if you do.

MILVERTON. Approve of them! For the most part, I loathe them—more, if possible, from their ugliness than their impropriety. The dancers, poor things, with perseverance worthy of a better cause, being made into wretched, distorted, spinning machines of ugliness—the dance itself showing at the best a labored intrepidity of indecorum—the whole of the upper part of the body being left undeveloped, while the unfortunate legs are exercised unceasingly from morning to night, like a great scholar—

ELLESMERE. Who has only the Greek-getting-up part of his mind developed, and is in other respects an utter blockhead.

DUNSFORD. Where, then, have you seen any such dancing as would at all come up to your ideal? Is there such a thing?

ELLESMERE. Why, we have all forgotten, Dunsford, that here is a man who has seen boleros and fandangoes danced by the people who invented them.

Let us forthwith form ourselves into a committee of inquiry upon this matter ; and, calling Milverton before us, let us at once command that specimens of Spanish dancing be presented to us. Witness, what is a bolero ?

MILVERTON. A thing of great beauty and condescending stateliness : if the Graces had been brought up in Spain, they might have danced it, which cannot be predicated, I think, of the dances on any other stage I know of. I should be but too happy to show you how it is danced, but it requires a partner.

ELLESMERE. Teach me.

MILVERTON. There are some teachers who cannot teach what they know well, and some people who cannot be taught what they are very desirous to learn.

ELLESMERE. He talks like an old Greek philosopher to a stupid exoteric class.

MILVERTON. Well, I was going to tell you that it was not upon the stage, or amongst professors of the art, that I had seen the most beautiful dancing ; but amongst peasants and artisans. There is a certain Spanish saint, called St. Isidro, a shepherd saint, the tutelary of Madrid, and much venerated by all classes in that city. I was there on his festal day, when all Madrid flocks out to his chapel, two or three miles from the town ; and there, in family parties, the citizens have their dinners and recreate themselves. On the occasion that I was present at, the weather was perfect. It was emphatically a day : often in that Babel you laud so much at times, Ellesmere, the sun with all the good-will in the world to do so, cannot make a day of it : and sorrowfully leaves eighteen hundred thousand persons unsustained by his life-giving

rays. It needs for you to be very clever and very amusing people to make up for this.

ELLESMERE. If only the smoke were away, we should need none of your rustic pity.

MILVERTON. Well, as I said, it was a day. No iced wind from the neighboring sierras came down upon us with the hot sun, making a combination, like a false man's kindness, to mock us. The air was warm and yet bracing. Altogether it was very hard for those who had to stay at home on that day. It was noon before I reached the place of concourse. The whole scene was like a fair,—not one of our coarse northern fairs, but the fair in a dream. Delightful bits of red and rich amber color, which last the women much affect, came out amidst the color of the fields and the corn. The whole length of the city overlooked the fields where the festival was kept.

I made my way through the crowd which pressed up to the saint's chapel, or which thronged about the tents for refreshment, and got out into the adjoining fields, where numbers of little parties were grouped about, some of whom were beginning to dance. All seemed happy. I suppose, though, there was the usual under-current of vexation: Juan absent from the little party where he was most longed for, and Beatriz not found in another, which to some one was nought without her; or Catalina dancing coldly with Luis, to the heart-breaking of poor Pedro, who looked on at a distance, but might not join them. But these things were not visible to the stranger. I stood for some time in the outer circle of several of these sets of dancers, in a large, hilly field of irregular shape.

Looking suddenly at the top of the hill, I saw against the blue sky the figure of a young girl dancing beautifully. I made my way to the little home-party which this "phantom of delight" belonged to. It was on the extreme outskirts of the throng. The girl was about twelve years old, and was dancing with one of her brothers, as I conjectured. I sat down by the blind fiddler who was playing to them, and looked on. A light breeze waved against our backs the corn of the neighboring field, divided from us by no hedge. But how shall I describe to you this girl and her dancing? She was dressed in the commonest dress, with no choiceness in its arrangement; having on coarse clouted shoes, and long loose garments. Her face I do not distinctly remember: it was certainly not beautiful, only earnest. But she danced in the most consummate manner you can conceive. It was the expression of the height of passionless joy, in the utmost grace of movement. She wanted no admiration, had no other foolish thoughts; but only said, as it were, to the bystander, "I am very happy, and this is how I tell you so." Her brother, a graceful, fine youth, better dressed than his sister, quitted the dance, and another brother succeeded. Still she danced on. She tired him out too; and the first brother then came on a second time. But there was no weariness in her. She threw her hair off her face, and went on again. She had a spectator as untiring as herself, for, I believe, if she had continued dancing till now, I should have still been watching her.

DUNSFORD. And what did you think of all this time?

MILVERTON. Ah, well, I thought of many things. I thought how the girl's talent for dancing would be noticed, and she would be brought upon the stage and then I fancied the proud disgust with which she would listen to the applause given to inferior dancers at the wrong place; and how, amidst the gilt-paper-triumphs of such a life, she would look back, perhaps, upon this very day with fondness as a really happy day. And then, I remember, I thought how little we understand pleasure, and how we crush the delicate thing in our clumsy efforts to hold it. And I looked up at the splendid palace of Madrid, and thought of regal pomps and vanities. And then, how it was I know not, I thought of death. Perhaps any thing very beautiful has that thought in the back-ground. But now the dance was stopped; the girl tripped off to fetch something; and the elders of the party moved away. I went also; and though I returned to the same place and sought afterwards in many other groups, I could not find again my beautiful dancer from the heart: nor, save in some auspicious dream, shall I see such dancing any more, I fear.

But let us go in. we have had so much talking and reading, at least I have, that I am quite tired.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE we separated, after the last reading, we agreed, if it were fine, to have our next meeting at an inn in a little town about eight miles distant. We met there on the appointed day, and after dinner Milverton read to us the following section of his essay.

2. THAT SLAVERY IS NEEDLESS.

Many a reader who has been quite willing to agree to the first proposition, "that slavery is cruel," and who may scarcely have had patience for much detail in reference to that part of the subject, has all the while been troubled with an ill-defined apprehension of the needfulness of slavery, at least in certain cases.

But for whom is it needful? For the masters? If the superior race on earth could in no wise till the earth *from some physical inaptitude*, (a race, for instance, of the present European constitution, with nothing but rice-fields to work upon,) and the races under them could

till it, but would not work more than enough to support themselves in a brutish way, and for whom all the finer head-work and hand-work of the superior race had no attractions, there would then be a fair justification of the institution of slavery. But this hypothesis meets with no fulfilment in nature. There are millions of untried acres waiting for the Caucasian race, where they may work out their own institutions, without the drawback of slavery amongst them. And even if the hypothesis were founded on reality, though it would be right, in self-preservation, for the wiser race to compel the others to work for them, they would be bound at the same time to endeavor to elevate the character of the lower race, and to convert their forced service into brotherly aid. Our imaginary Caucasians would be bound to give their Helots a taste for the higher necessities of civilization, so as to make them in turn dependent upon Caucasian skill in the higher departments of life. Even in this extreme case, then, we might look for some termination to a state of slavery absolutely needful in the beginning. In real life there is no such need. The celebrated Vieyra, in one of his sermons, answers the people of Maranham on this head :—

“But you will say to me, this people, this republic, this State cannot be supported without Indians. Who

is to bring us a pitcher of water or a bundle of wood? Who is to plant our mandioc? Must our wives do it? Must our children do it? In the first place, as you will presently see, these are not the straits in which I would place you: but if necessity and conscience require it, then, I reply, yes! and I repeat, yes! You and your wives and your children ought to do it! We ought to support ourselves with our own hands; for better is it to be supported by the sweat of one's own brow, than by another's blood."*

On the other hand, is slavery needful for the slaves? If there were no other way but slavery to elevate them in the scale of beings, then that might be taken. I am not prepared to say that the intelligent should exercise no dominion over the non-intelligent. For the sake of both I contend they should; only it should not be of an extreme kind like slavery, unless there is an absolute necessity. Now, whether any such necessity exists or not is a question that may be settled by historical experience. Doubtless of almost every race in succession, it has been pronounced by their masters, that to get any good out of them, it was necessary to have supreme power over them: and each race has falsified this arrogant assertion. To illustrate this, here is a fragment which I conjecture to have been

* *Vieyra's* first Sermon at St. Luiz, A. D. 1653; *Southey's* History of Brazil, vol. ii., p. 479.

part of a letter sent by a Roman senator to some young man who had recently come into possession of large property, and was inclined to act with unusual benevolence towards his slaves:—
“It might have been true in former days, when all slaves were captives in war from people brave as ourselves, but with this scum of nations it is absurd. You favor much the British race, and (forgive me) are wont from paradox, to talk of their fidelity and valor. Two of my slaves of that race, no later than the ides of June were detected in a long course of deceit and trickery; not only purloining, but laying the crime on my Thracians, and even on Epænetus, my freedman whom you know. The truthful scourge brought this to light; and for them there is no other reasoning. Can such a rabble of barbarians become a nation? for by nation I do not mean a horde of wandering savages—

Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos—

but men formed to carry the ideas of power and justice over the world, fit not only to govern themselves, but to sway others?” [a thoroughly Roman theory, by the way, of a nation]. “The thing is impossible, and would only delude those delirious persons by whom every new and strange thing is well received. Moreover, my physician Festus tells me that these people are

by the appointment of the gods (*divinitus*) an inferior race, proved by their miserably white skin. For, as he says, the lymph in their bodies is altogether of a poor and half-decocted nature, which produces these sickly appearances of pink and white. Hence the brain is of a flaccid substance, and the whole body is such as cannot be led to good but by stripes, not rarely applied. I do not say these things of myself, and should despise to know them—but they are what the slave says (Festus). You yourself perceive the hang-dog look and abject bearing (*gestum demissum perditumque vultum*) of these Britons. And it is with these, and such as these, that we are to eat in company, for so I construe Seneca's fine words which you read to me the other day.* Next, I suppose we are to intermarry with them. But the gods"—Here the fragment breaks off not inappropriately, as this kind of people are very apt to invoke the gods in support of their arguments.

But to argue the question on broader grounds. It is not only true that slave-owners have always

* Quid ergo? omnes servos admovebo mensæ meæ? non magis quam omnes liberos? Erras, si existimas me quosdam quasi sordidioris operæ rejecturum, ut puta illum mulionem, et illum bubulcum: non ministeriis illos aestimabo, sed moribus. Sibi quisque dat mores; ministeria casus assignat. Quidam cœnent tecum, quia digni sunt; quidam, ut sint. Si quid enim in illis ex sordida conversatione servile est, honestiorum convictus excutiet.—*Seneca* epist. XLVII.

been apt to fancy that supreme authority and extreme measures were necessary in order to rule their slaves; but all people in authority have erred in the same way. Each year of wise government in a country generally goes to show that men can be governed by less imperious means. That is the meaning and essence of civilization. At first a Turkish bit is needed, or supposed to be; and now, to use the simile of an ingenious satirist,* men are led by invisible threads attached to their heads. Of the millions of actions of all kinds that will be done unwillingly by free men to-day, the greater number of them will be done from no physical control or fear, but from motives which cannot be traced back to material influences, depending upon such abstractions as duty, public opinion, and such things; increasing in fineness and not diminishing in strength, as we approach the most civilized parts of the earth. I have no doubt that it is not necessary to have supreme power over any reasoning creature to lead it to its own good.

But it may be said, that though this power might not have been necessary originally, yet that it is needed now. The original sheep, for instance, naturalists tell us, was a hardy, boldly hitting, self-sufficient creature. We have

* Adventures in the Moon.

brought it now to be timid, dependent, gregarious. Would it be right to dismiss it at once into a free state, where it might perish for want of a master's hand? For the sheep I cannot answer. I suspect that, give it room enough, it would do better than we imagine, though deprived of the opportune and gentle coercion of the shepherd's dog; and that in a few generations it might recover some of its original hardihood and daring. But of men I have much less doubt. I cannot but believe that the slaves throughout the world, if set free instantaneously, with no preparation, would at once lead a happier, a better, a more promising life than they do now. It is true, that, like the sheep, they would yield less profit. They would, in fact, live for themselves, and not for their masters. There might be less sugar and coffee in this case, as less wool in the other. I do not underrate the feebleness which comes upon men from being long unaccustomed to exercise a will of their own. Nor do I mean to say that there might not, most wisely, be some preparation for a state of freedom—but simply that absolute and sudden freedom would be better for the slaves than their present state of slavery, in those parts of the world where no preparation whatever is being made for their freedom.

Again, it may be urged, that though slavery is needless for individual masters, and needless for

individual slaves ; yet that a State where slavery exists would be endangered by emancipation of the slaves. If it is meant that the general process of emancipation of slaves in any State might be attended with some danger and difficulty for the masters, that is a question to be met by those who have to consider in detail, how slavery should be done away.

At present we are only seeing whether it is in itself a needful thing for masters or slaves : and I think it has been shown to be needful for neither.

When we think of the responsibility of having full power over the actions of others, (a responsibility which thinking men do not much like to take upon themselves even in the case of animals,) we might imagine that individual slave-owners and the governing powers in a slave State would alike be glad to get rid of slavery. It certainly requires much magnanimity to lay down any portion of power. But this is one fraught with so much apprehension, that, as a matter of comfort, if not of righteousness, we might imagine they would be glad to be quit of it. They cannot flatter themselves with the hope that they are improving the race of their slaves. If you want to improve the breed of any race, even of animals, you would not do it by keeping them to their lowest func-

tions, hindering the natural affections, ruling them by fear, and showing them contempt, or contemptuous favor.

But some may think the greatest difficulty is yet to be met. How are the estates to be cultivated, if slavery is not maintained? If this pecuniary notion is the basis of slavery, the ground is much narrowed, and at any rate we come to this, that any degree of coercion that will meet the particular case will suffice. And at once, on this hypothesis, we might rise from slavery to a feudal system, where certain services admitted by all to be disagreeable and difficult of procurement, are at certain times imperiously required. Even if the diminution of produce in our West India Islands could be supposed to be an indication of what would happen under a wiser system of emancipation, and in a different country, (which I totally disbelieve,) it is as far as ever from being proved that the present slavery is needful for the slave-owner, the slave, or the slave State.

DUNSFORD. That fragment from the Roman author is very interesting, Milverton.

MILVERTON. Very.

ELLESMERE. My dear Dunsford, what an invaluable creature you are; how charmingly you are imposed upon! That Roman author has just been making a most English dinner at this very "Lion," or "Stag," or

whatever it is called. Ask Milverton to show you the original.

MILVERTON. This is the way in which industrious people who hunt up fragments are treated. But let that pass, as the villain in a tragedy at a fair says, when he has received some deadly insult in the first act, which is to lead to a murder or two in the second. Let that pass. But seriously, Ellesmere, do you agree in the main argument of the essay?

ELLESMERE. Yes, quite. I will tell you a curious thing which came into my mind when you were speaking of the feebleness of people long accustomed to have no will of their own. I hear from a correspondent in Jamaica that fewer children are lost soon after birth, now that the mothers are free, than there were in the times of slavery, though of course great care was taken of both mother and child, if only for the sake of increasing property.

MILVERTON. It is a curious fact; but there are other ways of accounting for it, besides attributing it to the feebleness of the mothers. A mother would not be so anxious to preserve the slave child as the free child.

ELLESMERE. Yes: I only mentioned it as a fact worth your inquiring into. As to the general argument of the essay, against the supposed needfulness of slavery, I think it of the first importance. I suppose it rarely occurs that an abuse dies quite a natural death—I mean that everybody has found out that it is an abuse—that it drops off the tree without being shaken. It almost always appears needful to some persons.

MILVERTON. To meet this view of the subject,

Franklin has an admirable essay, consisting of a speech by an imaginary Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, a member of the divan of Algiers, against the petition of the sect called Erika, who prayed for the abolition of piracy and slavery. I thought you would like to hear it, so I brought the little volume with me.

ELLESMERE. Let us have it.

MILVERTON. "Have these Erika considered the consequences of granting their petition? If we cease our cruises against the Christians, how shall we be furnished with the commodities their countries produce, and which are so necessary for us? If we forbear to make slaves of their people, who, in this hot climate, are to cultivate our lands? Who are to perform the common labor of our city and of our families? Must we not then be our own slaves? And is there not more compassion and more favor due to us Mussulmans than to those Christian dogs?—We have now above fifty thousand slaves in and near Algiers. This number, if not kept up by fresh supplies, will soon diminish, and be gradually annihilated; if, then, we cease taking and plundering the infidels' ships, and making slaves of the seamen and passengers, our lands will become of no value for want of cultivation; the rents of houses in the city will sink one half; and the revenues of government arising from the share or prizes, must be totally destroyed. And for what? To gratify the whim of a whimsical sect, who would have us not only forbear making more slaves, but even manumit those we have. But who is to indemnify their masters for the loss? Will the State do it? Is our treasury sufficient? Will the Erika do it? Can

they do it? Or would they, to do what they think justice to the slaves, do a greater injustice to the owners? And if we set our slaves free, what is to be done with them? Few of them will return to their native countries; they know too well the greater hardships they must there be subject to. They will not embrace our holy religion: they will not adopt our manners: our people will not pollute themselves by intermarrying with them. Must we maintain them as beggars in our streets; or suffer our properties to be the prey of their pillage? for men accustomed to slavery will not work for a livelihood when not compelled. And what is there so pitiable in their present condition? Were they not slaves in their own countries?"

ELLESMERE. It is so well done, that one can hardly believe that Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim is fabulous, and that the Times' reporter was not there. Go on.

MILVERTON. "I repeat the question, what is to be done with them? I have heard it suggested, that they may be planted in the wilderness, where there is plenty of land for them to subsist on, and where they may flourish as a free State. But they are, I doubt, too little disposed to labor without compulsion, as well as too ignorant to establish good government; and the wild Arabs would soon molest and destroy, or again enslave them. While serving us, we take care to provide them with every thing, and they are treated with humanity. The laborers in their own countries are, as I am informed, worse fed, lodged, and clothed. The condition of most of them is therefore already mended, and requires no further improvement. . . . How grossly are they mistaken, in imagining slavery to be disavowed by

the Alcoran! Are not the two precepts, to quote no more, 'Masters, treat your slaves with kindness—Slaves, serve your masters with cheerfulness and fidelity,' clear proofs to the contrary? . . . Let us then hear no more of this detestable proposition, the manumission of Christian slaves."

ELLESMERE. I had no idea the old republican had so much wit in him.

MILVERTON. It is an admirable piece of irony, certainly. But I will show you that real life can beat it. Here is an extract from Southey's Brazil, which I had put up with the Franklin. It is part of a report of the proceedings of the Portuguese Commission appointed to decide about the fate of some Indian captives at Belem.

"But the superiors of the Carmo and of the Merces voted that they should all be slaves, because among savages all wars were lawful. The Franciscan Superior began by saying he wished God would reveal to him by an angel whether those wars had been just or unjust: but he inclined to believe they were just, because the doctors had laid down that there were twelve just causes of war, and among so many it was impossible that these men should not have fallen upon one. To this it was replied, the doctors had also laid down that there were twenty-four unjust causes of war, and, therefore, upon his own premises, the chances against his conclusion were precisely two to one. He, however, gave his vote that they should be all slaves, but that their children, if they had any, should be free. The vicar gave no reason for his opinion, but merely pronounced 'Slaves! Slaves!' This was his uniform

vote and his uniform manner of voting ; and when he was once pressed to explain the motives for his decision, he answered, that the men who presented these captives were Christians ; and, therefore, it was not to be presumed that they would do any thing wrong ; that such had always been the custom in that State ;—that if the Indians were declared free, the men who had procured them would lose their labor, and there would be a mutiny among the people. One of the friars helped him in this precious reasoning, by saying, that the Indians lost nothing by becoming slaves, and that slavery was a practice which originated in compassion, . . . as if, says Vieyra, it were the same thing to commute death for servitude, as to deprive a free man of his liberty.”

ELLESMERE. Swift might have written every word of it—no, not every word—for he would not have put in that word “precious,” but would have told the story in such a manner, that many a reader would not exactly make out what the narrator himself thought of the transaction. Ah me, it is terrible though, that all this hideous irony should be about real men, and not Brobdingnags and Lilliputians.

DUNSFORD. Well, I am glad to see that there are other things in the passage besides the irony of it, that strike you. It seemed as if we were tending only to criticism and discussions about irony.

ELLESMERE. We cannot always have our pity on the surface in the right conventional quantity and quality, Dunsford. Night presses down in our minds upon things that we, in pity to ourselves, will not let the daylight in upon. In considering the affairs of

life, we might stand pity-struck, if we did not save ourselves sometimes from it. I can understand how a Goethe, anxious to make the most of himself, should avoid horrors.

DUNSFORD. It is easy to see that the most humane man may talk of horrors without taking them up on the pitiable side. But as to what you say of Goethe, I do not altogether approve of such circumspect avoidance of painful subjects.

ELLESMERE. He did the same with certain great intellectual questions. They might agitate other men: they would, he saw, to the end of time; but he passed them by, not seeing that any thing would come of them in his mind. And time and labor would be lost.

MILVERTON. A prudent wisdom; but there is a higher wisdom which does not remind us of prudence.

ELLESMERE. We want to talk about Goethe. No two people can agree about a great man: he presents so much to them.

But, Milverton, what, may I ask, are the especial delights of this little inn?

MILVERTON. My dear fellow, no human pleasure will bear to be put in the witness-box, as I see you are going to put this.

ELLESMERE. But, really, this is a common-place sort of affair—a well-proportioned room, with no oddities about it.

MILVERTON. Look out from this window and consider that countenance in brick-work. To the left. There is something unusual for you.

DUNSFORD. Upon my word there is. That is Ro-

man—the face of some emperor, I do believe—perhaps Probus, whose coins we have hereabouts.

MILVERTON. It seems Roman certainly. I knew there was such a thing here which would at least be something for you to see.

DUNSFORD. We will have a good look at it before we go.

ELLESMERE. And some Edie Ochiltrie will come up to us and say he “minds the bigging of it.”

MILVERTON. No—it came from an old place in the neighborhood, and was then fixed in that wall. These parts abound in Roman remains. I always fancy that the faces of the peasantry have a great deal of the Roman in them. I care much more about Roman antiquities than any other to be found here. We seem to have so much in common with any thing since William the Conqueror's time. But a relic of these old Romans takes one into another world as it were.

DUNSFORD. By a Roman road.

MILVERTON. Yes; and of all that they have left behind them, there is scarcely any thing which interests me more than one of these same roads. Look at it in the map, how it stands alone amidst the judicious windings of modern invention. It is like the doings of a stern, fearless, outspoken man, often going over huge hills, which, with a little management, he might have gone round; but you know where he is going, and what he does mean. He does not pretend to know the easiest way: he can only say that his is the straightest.

ELLESMERE. With my lawyer-like notions, I am



IS NEEDLESS.

not so great an admirer of this brutal directness. What says Wallenstein ?

Straight forward goes

The lightning's path, and straight the fearful path
Of the cannon-ball. Direct it flies and rapid,
Shattering that it *may* reach, and shattering what it reaches.
My son! the road, the human being travels,
That on which blessing comes and goes, doth follow
The river's course, the valley's playful windings,
Curves round the cornfield and the hill of vines,
Honoring the holy bounds of property !
And thus secure, though late, leads to its end.

What I like the Romans for, is their stoicism. That was a grand theory for them. It is impossible not to have some respect for it—a man thinking that he has no clear cause for hope or comfort, here or hereafter, but resolving that at any rate he will bear what comes—and making out a religion of endurance only. Human nature driven into a corner and standing at bay ! Slight thinkers will tell you that stoicism was but a theory, never translated into life. But none of these great ideas remain theories only. You do not see them, perhaps, meet any particular case ; but they form the mind : they impose limits both upon thought and feeling.

DUNSFORD. If I were not frightened by Ellesmere's "slight thinkers," I should say something, I think, depreciatory of stoicism—But let us go and see that Roman emperor in brick, and then come back and talk over stoicism. By that time I shall have courage.

ELLESMERE. Don't you think, Milverton, we might

have another part of this essay on Slavery in the course of the evening. I asked you to bring a good deal of it. And then, as we ride home, we can talk it over, or wander into other things. Having something to discuss, which one ought to keep to, makes discursiveness more pleasant.

MILVERTON. I suspect, Dunsford, that Ellesmere is very anxious to get through this subject.

ELLESMERE. Indeed I am not. I like these essays which are addressed to some concrete subject, and which at least pretend to go upon facts, and to make for some definite course of action. I don't think them dull at all—at least not for an evening at an inn.

MILVERTON. Persuasive and complimentary man that you are, you shall be indulged with another section: the next thing I want to prove is, that slavery is unauthorized. And, after having completed our antiquarian researches, we will return to that.

We are soon again assembled in the inn parlor, and Milverton proceeded to read the following section.

3. THAT SLAVERY IS UNAUTHORIZED.

There are three main sources of authority other than a man's own conscience. These are the words and deeds of inspired persons, of wise men in former days, of wise men in the present time. The advocates of slavery would probably contend that they had all three in their

favor, especially the first. If so, it is a tower of strength to them, which we of the other side cannot leave untaken behind us. In the course of dislodging them from it, we shall find ourselves on the perilous margin of some deep and difficult questions which cannot however be avoided.

The question of verbal inspiration, for instance, meets us at the outset. If any sentence taken from the Bible is of that virtue, that, without being looked at in reference to the context, by the light of history, with the aid of general criticism, or even particular comparison with other texts, it is conclusive; in short, if each text is to have an infallibility of its own, then possibly some text may be found which might at once give the authority of Scripture to the practice of slave-holding.

But is there to be no such thing as advance beyond any portion of the Bible; may not the highest conception of inspired persons be much below what the inspiration of themselves and others will produce, when it has enlarged and enlightened the minds of successive generations? Were the ideas of inspired persons upon all subjects absolutely right? We cannot say so without, as it seems, a thorough perversion of the plain sense of their words, endeavoring, for instance, to make out that some of the Apostles did not believe that the world was to come to

an end in their time; we cannot say so without a complete suppression of science, insisting for instance on the sun's moving round the earth, and the earth standing still the while. "*E pur si muove.*" "It does move though." So, with slavery. Compel us to bow down to the narrowest interpretation of individual texts, the heart relying on the spirit of Scripture, still whispers to itself—men should be free.

It may be said that the instances given above relate to physical matters; but that moral laws are enounced clearly, and are not to be amended. Doubtless the highest moral principles are to be found clearly enounced in the Bible, and are such as human nature may in vain attempt to advance beyond. But slavery is not one of these principles. You find regulations respecting it. Do each of these regulations contain high principles exhausting the possibilities of human nature? In other Jewish practices, in the treatment of prisoners, for instance, do we recognize an infallible authority for similar conduct on our part? Again, slavery is a thing of mixed nature, varying in every clime, originating in various circumstances, and leading to various results. Regulations about it cannot well be universal: principles may. The truth is, the gist of our opponents' arguments is, that had slavery been fatally wrong, it would have been forbidden in the Bible. The question is,

whether it was fatally wrong for that time: and I do not know that any one asserts that it was. It must be recollected, however, that the institution of slavery commenced in the ransom of captives who otherwise might have been slain, or in buying the services for life of indigent persons from themselves. The Jewish law was extreme against any other kind of slave-dealing. "And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, *or if he be found in his hand*, he shall surely be put to death."*

We are not bound to confine ourselves to the nice and hazardous questions we have just been treating. Say what we may about these questions, there are persons who will look at them from another side, and who may still suppose that the Bible affords a stronghold for the advocates of modern slavery. But we are now coming to closer quarters. Allow that the system of Jewish slavery is a divinely authorized one, and that we have made, and are to make, no advance in humanity since then, still the system of modern slavery is utterly unauthorized,—is utterly condemned. Where is the Jubilee in Carolina or Georgia? Again, Moses says, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you,

* Exodus, ch. xxi., v. 16.

in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him."* What will the slave States say to that? Moses bids the Israelites, "gather the people together, men and women and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and observe to do all the words of this law."† Is this law against teaching slaves? Moses ordains, that "if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. And if he smite out his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake."‡ If this were law south of the Potomac, what need would there be for those advertisements describing slaves by the very injuries which then would be the titles to their freedom? Can modern slave-owners say with Job, "if I did despise the cause of my man-servant or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me: what then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? And did not one fashion us in the womb?"§

I subjoin a summary of the state of Jewish

* Deuteronomy, ch. xxiii., v. 15. † Ibid., ch. xxxi., v. 12.

‡ Exodus, ch. xxi., v. 26. § Job, ch. xxxi., v. 13, 14, 15

slaves, for those who wish to be minutely acquainted with the subject.

“With the Israelites service was either voluntary, or judicially imposed by the law of God. Strangers only, or the descendants of strangers, became their possession by purchase; but, however acquired, the law gave the Jewish servants many rights and privileges; they were admitted into covenant with God; they were guests at all the national and family festivals; they were statedly instructed in morals and religion; they were released from their regular labor nearly one half of their term of servitude. The servants of the Israelites were protected by the law equally with their masters; and their civil and religious rights were the same. Finally, these servants had the power of changing their masters, and of seeking protection where they pleased; and should their masters by any act of violence injure their persons, they were released from their engagements. The term of Hebrew servitude was six years, beyond which they could not be held unless they entered into new engagements; while that of strangers, over whom the rights of the master were comparatively absolute, terminated in every case on the return of the jubilee, when liberty was proclaimed to all.”*

If modern slavery were any thing like Jewish slavery, there would have been, comparatively speaking, but little need of abolitionists to moot the subject.

* *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, vol. ii., p. 775.

But if Jewish authority avails the defenders of slavery but little, perhaps Christianity may do so more. On the contrary, however, I venture to assert that Christianity never was more wronged than when used to defend a system like modern slavery. Christianity entered into no political system to confirm it. Systems, constitutions, and the like are perishable things; and if Christianity could be shut up in them, it would be perishable too. The great precepts of Christianity, "Do as you would be done by," "Love your neighbor as yourself," will hardly be produced to justify the continuance of modern slavery. Does any one think, that if a slave-owner were to ask the question "who is my neighbor," that his slave would be pointed out as an especial exception? Or does any Christian imagine that the Author of his religion would look with satisfaction on slavery now.

But Saint Paul gave directions how masters and slaves should behave to each other—but he sent back Onesimus to his master. These are the arguments in reply. Saint Paul's Master said, "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's;" does that perpetuate the necessity for imperial dominion, or conclude that such dominion is the best form of government? Men's institutions are, if we may say so, left to themselves; Christianity aims alone at giving the spirit which should form those institutions, and teaching people how to live under them.

But if inspired writers cannot be brought as authorities for modern slavery, there may be adduced a general consent of the eminent men of antiquity. And for what may there not? The habits and prejudices of their own times oppress the greatest intellects, as a slight barrier close to the eyes totally interrupts the keenest vision. Still it must not be allowed to be a general consent to the whole doctrines of modern slavery. The Greeks certainly looked upon slavery (like some modern slave-owners) as a thing desirable, with reference to the laws of nature and the permanent diversities in the races of men.* But the Romans viewed slavery as a creature of the law.† Some of their most eminent men endeavored to ameliorate the condition of slaves; for laws of this kind were passed by Augustus, Claudius, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Septimius Severus, Constantine, Theodosius II., and Justinian.‡ It is pleasant also to observe that there are instances of several of the most eminent men treating their slaves with kindness, or, in their writing showing some concern for the cruelties practised upon slaves. Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Pliny, Plutarch, Juvenal, Persius, and Martial may be quoted to support this.§ And, above all, Seneca, whose letter before referred to, is one of the

* *Blair*, p. 297.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

most admirable things that have been written on the subject of slavery.

Again, in estimating the Roman system of slavery, the manumission must be taken into account; a manumission so frequent, that Augustus thought it right to restrict it within certain limits.

But making the best that can be made of slavery amongst the Greeks or Romans, it is one of the greatest blots upon their social system; and any one would imagine that a reasonable man of modern times would no more think of looking up to the ancients as authorities for the maintenance of slavery, than he would of defending the exposure of children, or the combats of gladiators, because ancient men of renown perceived no evil in either of these practices. Very wise men in this country once thought torture a judicious mode of discovering truth. We are above that error now; we have found it out: nothing but a general relapse into barbarism could bring us back to it. Long columns of weighty names would never again reconcile us to burning witches. And, upon similar grounds, the opinions and practice of antiquity as regards slaves, even of the wisest part of it, should not be received as any valid authority whatever in justification of the system of modern slavery.

The third source of authority, as mentioned

before, is to be found in the words and conduct of contemporaries. And here slavery finds any thing but allies. Among those who are themselves interested, at least as they believe, in maintaining the slave system, there will be many honorable men of superior attainments: and others will point to them and say, can it be wrong to think as they think, to do as they do? But as we found, in estimating the weight of ancient authority, so here also, general sagacity and uprightness cannot bear up against the prejudices amongst which a man is born—which are the breath of his nostrils to him. Putting, therefore, the authority of these interested persons at the highest, we cannot consider it as the best which can be given. And when we go from them to impartial judges, even the advocates of slavery themselves, will, I apprehend, allow that the utmost that is generally pronounced for them by the outer world—that is, the free world—is of a negative character: that slavery is not so bad as it is represented—that it is very well talking about the evils of slavery, but who will find the remedy—that it is doubtful whether the negro race is capable of high development and other generalities of this kind. But I do not know of any great thinker of modern times whose deliberate and disinterested opinion can be adduced in favor of modern slavery.

Almost immediately after the reading, we commenced our ride homewards, intending to have our conversation on horseback, which thus began, as the horses started off with their wonted eagerness to get to their own stables.

ELLESMERE. Faust and Mephistopheles on wild horses!

MILVERTON. Who is Dunsford then?

ELLESMERE. (Aside, but I heard it) Wagner.

MILVERTON. This is something that steam cannot do for us, is it not?

ELLESMERE. A steam-engine would be very well to ride for once. But as it has no memory, no temper, no perversities to deal with, the amusement would soon be over. Now this animal of yours recollects my being cross with her this morning, and is bent upon punishing me for it. And I am obliged to be very civil to the creature, that she may not be more fractious the next time I have to ride her. There is a great deal of diplomacy going on between us.

MILVERTON. Louis the Eleventh managing the Duke of Burgundy. Louis is at Peronne just at present.

ELLESMERE. Well, but about the essay. I had no idea there was such a case to be made against modern slavery from the Jewish treatment of slaves. When we get home, you must let me have the essay. I want to look at the passages you quote and to see the context.

MILVERTON. You shall.

ELLESMERE. Does much wind come up the valley behind your house?

MILVERTON. It is bleak in winter there; but why do you ask?

ELLESMERE. You were talking the other day about opinions being burnt into, or out of, men: and as there is some burning matter in that last section of your essay, I was thinking what were the conveniences. Of course it is desirable that the burning should be near home, to make the example tell better.

MILVERTON. You allude to what I say about inspiration: but I have great names to shelter me. Have you ever read Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit?"

ELLESMERE. Yes; and I have long wondered that the subject should have remained, comparatively speaking, dormant.

MILVERTON. It is strange to think what awful questions there are behind this rubbish about white or black gowns, and the like.

DUNSFORD. Not rubbish by any means—often at the least the counters with which the great game is played.

MILVERTON. But do not great questions thus get pared down, or partially considered, or entirely avoided?

ELLESMERE. The last may be a gain.

MILVERTON. Should the greatest questions however arise in religion and be most fiercely debated, I hardly think people will be able to illustrate their arguments by such doings as they were wont. The wind in

that valley will not, I think, in a hurry be put to the use you were so kindly imagining, Ellesmere.

ELLESMERE. I should be sorry, myself, to make any distinct prophecy about the limits of human intolerance.

MILVERTON. I think there are limits now. But what things have been done! I don't know how it is with you, but religious intolerance and its fruits form an abyss of a subject for contemplation which I cannot get away from, sometimes. Now, last night, I was reading of the thirty years' war, just at the destruction of Magdeburg—the town fired and thirty thousand people destroyed in a day.

DUNSFORD. Protestants, were they not?

MILVERTON. Yes—but Protestants were just as bad in their way. In fact, both names, Protestant and Catholic, are so steeped in blood, that one hardly likes, I think, to lay any claim to either. Then, when you come to think what the subjects of this religious discord were and are—refinements and abstractions about which no man scarcely can have what may be called an opinion. Then, again, if you consider what a fallacious thing agreement of opinion is—how uncertain. Let a man only observe the changes he goes through in a day. A candid man who really looked into what was passing in his mind would often acknowledge that he had been on all sides of a question in the course of a day. Macbeth asks:

“Who can be wise, amazed, temperate and furious,
Loyal and neutral, in a moment?”

He answers: "no man." I should venture to say: "all men."

DUNSFORD. Push this to an extreme, and you get rid of all character.

MILVERTON. No—there is a course pursued, both in feeling and opinion, which coincides with, and results from, character; but the oscillations, at least in minds of any self-reliance, are often unceasing.

But to show what agreement in opinion may be, take such a case as the following. Let two men have strong and deliberate opinions which agree. Still their present agreement may indicate an intense disagreement at a future time, and may show at present extreme diversity of nature. So that it may only come to this, that at a particular point of their several paths there is intersection. After and before they may diverge indefinitely.

DUNSFORD. This is very subtle.

MILVERTON. Indeed it is much more common-place than you at first imagine. Now, Ellesmere, if you (oh, he is half a mile off)—but, Dunsford, if Ellesmere, who is a man that has seen much of the world, has been in many transactions, and gone through many stages of opinion, if he were to find a young man from college exactly agreeing with him on some difficult political question—the youth not talking after anybody else, but having worked out principles for himself which settle this question for him in the way that Ellesmere has been worn down to—Would you class those two men as really alike? They agree now: in the rotation of crops both lands happen for a season to bear the same grain; but the soils are essentially different.

DUNSFORD. I must own that your theory works out better than I had thought. But apply it largely, and what becomes of churches and parties and all bodies of men.

MILVERTON. Such considerations as I have mentioned need not break up what is really useful and harmonious in bodies of men. But these said considerations would often take the sting out of intolerance. Advantages of many kinds are to be obtained by men agreeing with each other in opinion on different subjects: and men will be contented—must be contented, with the best agreement amongst them they can get. But had many a bigot seriously thought what the minds of men are like, and what agreement amongst them is, it might have tamed him wonderfully. Similar considerations apply to our judgment of the moral character also.

DUNSFORD. How? I do not see what you mean.

MILVERTON. Why, that in the one case you will often have to go deeper than the action, to look for the moral character; as in the other, deeper than the opinion, to look for the mental character.

ELLESMERE. Well, at last I have got back to you. Whether this detestable mare has had enough of philosophy in her time, or that she has determined to pay me off for this morning's work, I have only been able to catch faint buzzings of talk till we came in sight of your red chimneys. I have no doubt I should have disagreed with what you were saying—so you may enter a protest for me. Thank goodness, we are at home again. Philosophers should have nothing but cobs for themselves and their friends.

MILVERTON. Louis has got back to Plessis les Tours, and ought only to be too glad to be there with unbroken bones.

CHAPTER III.

A LONG interval has elapsed between the time of our last reading in the little inn at — and the reading which will be given in this chapter. It almost seemed as if our conversation about travel had something prophetic in it. When we last parted, we were all looking forward to many a summer's day spent together amidst this simple English scenery; and never dreamt that the next time we should meet would be in the city of many churches, Cologne. But shortly after the reading recorded in the last chapter, Milverton's health suddenly broke down. His illness was long and tedious; and a change of climate was recommended for him. The remedy was in great measure successful; and early in the ensuing spring, when our friend still lingered in his way homewards, Ellesmere proposed to me to go and meet him on the Rhine. Lucy, at Ellesmere's request, accompanied me; and we had the pleasure of finding Milverton in comparatively renovated health at Cologne. It was one day while we were looking idly from

the bridge of boats, that Ellesmere expressed a wish that we had one of "our essays," for so he called them, to read. Milverton told him that he could soon gratify him in that respect; for, very foolishly, as I think, he had sent for his books and papers. He also said he would show us a place—not exactly like our lawn—but still very fit for a quiet reading; and accordingly the next day he carried us to the yard close to the cathedral, near the sheds where the masons are working, and said we might seat ourselves on the great stones which lay scattered about, and have our reading there.

After going over the cathedral, which, however often we may have seen it, it is almost impossible to be near without entering, and difficult to enter without staying longer than was intended, we returned to the group of stones we had fixed on for our seats; and, interrupted only by the repeated click of the workmen's tools, Milverton read the following section of his essay on slavery.

**4. THAT SLAVERY IS MISCHIEVOUS TO THE MASTER
AS WELL AS TO THE SLAVE.**

What is the wealth of a State, in the large sense of the word? Not gold certainly—nor iron—nor large population—nor fertile vege-

tation—nor extensive territory—nor even wise laws. Adam Smith says:—

It deserves to be remarked, perhaps, that it is in the progressive State, while the society is advancing to the further acquisition, rather than when it has acquired its full complement of riches, that the condition of the laboring poor, of the great body of the people, seems to be the happiest and the most comfortable. It is hard in the stationary, and miserable in the declining State; the progressive State is in reality the cheerful and the hearty State to all the different orders of the society. The stationary is dull; the declining, melancholy.

This may afford a clue to what the wealth that we are seeking to understand, consists in. It is a power of action, rather than a thing possessed. It cannot be realized, except partially, being inexhaustible. If we must give any one word for it, that word is vitality. That vitality, however, is the sum of many things, and depends upon many things having just relations to each other. It is the focus, as it were, where many rays of light converge. If there is heat there, there is warmth throughout the body politic. This vitality is nowhere more seen, perhaps, than in the power of progress in a nation: and at first thinking on this subject, we may imagine that we have come to the root of the matter, in concluding that the power of progress is the wealth of a nation. But this

will not always be a just test; for physical circumstances, such as a vast unoccupied territory, may give great power of progress, even too great for a time. The vitality that I mean consists of a certain elasticity and durability also. We should be able to say of a great nation, as of a great man,

"Omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res."

Part of this vitality consists in national character; but the highest national character in some portion only of the nation will not do. The Spartans would never have grown into a great people. As you require a certain extent of territory for a considerable nation, so you do a certain extent of mind—of self-governing mind. Imagine England, for instance, to have consisted only of feudal lords and their retainers. Let these feudal lords have been great people and worthy to lead. Still there would not have been substance enough, or variety of position enough, to bear up against reverses, or minds enough for national resources to have grown out of. Deduct all that men of the humbler classes have done for England in the way of inventions only; and see where she would have been but for them.

Now turn to a slave State. What have we there? A solid dead weight—a constant quantity, as the mathematicians would say, in regard

of mental power—of which the most that can be hoped, in adverse circumstances, is that it should be only dead weight. A slave State is at best like a nation consisting of a few men and a great many beasts of burden—very tractable creatures perhaps, but no comfort in adversity, and chiefly useful for flight. Whereas in a great, free, many-minded State, the current never sets all one way. Diverse interests, diverse opinions, diverse temperaments, produce a wholesome agitation and support the vitality. Then, again, in times of peace, a large mass of slave population has from year to year the same necessities provided for it; gives little encouragement, therefore, either to arts or sciences; and adds nothing by invention to national pleasure and national wealth.

The advantages to individual slave-owners must be great indeed, if they can balance the national evils arising from slavery. The good effect produced upon their characters by slave-owning must be very considerable, if it can compensate for the evils they have to endure as citizens of a slave State—namely, the weakness, moral, intellectual, and physical, of the State, and the chronic fear of insurrection. Now *a priori*, the owning of slaves would not occur to one as a ready method of forming greatness of character. We do not find on this side of the Atlantic that those classes who are least contra-

dicted are the wisest people amongst us. We should think, too, that if there is one evil greater than almost any other for a child, it would be to be brought up, as must often happen, amongst those over whom it is taught to exercise supreme authority, and with whom it is not encouraged to sympathize. Human nature differs in planter latitudes from human nature here, if the child accustomed to despotic sway from infancy does not grow up despotic, headstrong, and capricious. And, as the most delicate plants suffer most from any blighting influence, we should expect that women would be even more injured than men by possessing arbitrary power over slaves. It is possible that the character of the planter may contrast favorably with the overreaching, clever, higgling character which he may sometimes be brought in contact with. There is some compensation for almost every evil. The man who is accustomed to live with utter dependants, will not have any of the habits of overreaching craft. I do not say that there may not be admirable qualities in the character of a slave-owner, some of them even fostered by his peculiar circumstances; but I suspect it will generally be found to be deficient in tolerance, helpfulness, and patient endurance.

If not, despotism will, in this instance, have failed to be the two-edged weapon that it mostly

has been—injurious alike to those who wield it, and to those who suffer from it.

MILVERTON. Well, critic, what do you think?

ELLESMERE. I like that part where you say that the sameness of the wants of slaves, or rather of all that is provided for slaves, proves a great discouragement to arts and sciences and ingenuity of all kinds, in slave countries.

MILVERTON. But have you nothing to find fault with?

ELLESMERE. Shortness disarms criticism. When I think, too, how you might have afflicted us with a long dissertation about slavery being the cause of the fall of nations, with quotations from Montesquieu and other authorities, I feel quite benignantly disposed.

MILVERTON. If I had had more to say I should have said it. I should like to have labored more at this part of the subject, and could find plenty to do in it, but, as Paracelsus says,

'Tis clear if we refuse
The means so limited, the tools so rude
To execute our purpose, life will fleet,
And we shall fade, and nothing will be done.

I feel the full force of these words now. Since I have been ill, I have so often feared that I might not be able to put into shape the unfinished work that I have by me, especially upon this subject. that I am

content to say at once what I have to say without much more waiting.

ELLESMERE. I will not gainsay you in that.

LUCY. Don't you think, Mr. Milverton, that a mother, or an elder sister, in a slave State, being aware of the moral dangers to a child which you point out from its being educated amongst slaves, might counteract the evil?

MILVERTON. Possibly; in some cases.

ELLESMERE. How beautiful the shadows are of those flying buttresses!

There is nothing more that I see to be said about your last section. Let us go into the cathedral again.

MILVERTON. I am content. The next reading will be a very long one and may tax your powers of criticism considerably; so we had better make this sitting a short one.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM Cologne we went to Coblenz, Milverton readily agreeing to turn back with us, as we had come so far to meet him. There is, or rather was, (for when once a country has commenced making revolution, it is hazardous to say that any thing, especially any thing beautiful, still exists,) a beautiful little terrace garden close to the Weissen Ross (the White Horse) which overlooked the river. From thence, looking across the river, you see the whole length of the town—the handsome façade of the Palace of Justice, the grave, romanesque, and ancient St. Castor, and further inwards, the towers of the other churches. Looking up the Rhine, you seem to see a lake; and the spire of Pfaffendorf rises up on the borders of the lake, reminding you of an English village church.

Coming to this garden, after an early German dinner, we took our station in a corner summer-house, and fanned by the lazy and occasional flappings to and fro of the awning in front of us, were in a mood to enjoy fully the loveliness of

the scene around us. At last, Ellesmere, who, I observe, soon gets tired of the contemplation of natural objects, asked for another reading.

MILVERTON. We must begin at once, then, as the next section is a very long one.

ELLESMERE. Well, we have all the afternoon before us; and nobody can come and call upon us, or send letters to us, or molest us in any way. We have a little peace here.

LUCY. Oh, Mr. Milverton, do look. A regiment of soldiers is crossing the bridge of boats.

MILVERTON. How the light glancing from their bayonets, and varying with each movement, seems to be marching too! They are sturdy fellows: hark, they are singing "God save the Queen."

DUNSFORD. I suppose they come from Schleswig Holstein.

ELLESMERE. Yes: that war is another of the precious follies of these frantic times.

DUNSFORD. No; I think they are going to put down some disturbance at —; I heard that some soldiers were to be sent there.

MILVERTON. Well, there are very few things I have made up my mind upon, as I think I told you last year; but one of the few is, that if I were in authority, I would put down in the most swift and resolute manner any thing like mob domination.

ELLESMERE. Did you ever hear my definition of a mob?

LUCY. I certainly have not, Mr. Ellesmere, so pray

let me have it. There are such things as female mobs you know.

ELLESMERE. Yes—and not the easiest to deal with. Now, for my definition: a mob is a compound mass of human beings in which each one has for the moment all the follies and evil passions of the rest, in addition to his own, and his usual common sense and good feeling divided by the total number of persons collected together.

DUNSFORD. I do not know how you arrived at these precise quantities; but I dare say you have your own way now, as you used to have at college, of making out difficult problems. But we must not talk any more until after the reading.

Milverton then went for his papers, and soon returning, read the following section of his essay.

**5. THAT THERE ARE NO RACES IN RESPECT TO WHICH
THE PRECEDING PROPOSITIONS AGAINST SLA-
VERY DO NOT APPLY.**

There are many races who have been tried both as masters and slaves, and been found wanting in both capacities. The Romans had slaves from most nations, and I do not know that they spoke favorably of any. Amongst the present masters there is a large proportion of the Anglo-Saxon race, (to say the least of it, an active,

independent, thoughtful, humane race,) yet they cannot be said to shine as slave-owners. And on the other hand, the European slaves in Moorish countries bear the worst of characters.*

The negro race, however, is thought by many persons to be essentially different from all others, and to be peculiarly fitted for slavery. If this be true, it is one of the most important facts in human nature; if false, it is likely to be a sleepless prejudice of the most pernicious kind. Either way it demands rigid inquiry.

Unhappily, the question of negro fitness for slavery is not a question lately mooted, but one which has been settled for a long time by many of those who have to deal most with it. The opinions upon which they proceed vary much in intensity, from the unsparing assertion that "the negro is a species of orang-outang,"† down to the quiet assumption that the negroes are of

* If we look among the North African Moors, what is the state of the European slaves? They bear a worse character, and are inferior in value to the negroes themselves, on account of their untrustiness and treachery!—*Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa*, vol. ii., p. 182.

† I was at a dinner party, where I met a planter from the South, who maintained, or rather asserted, that the negro was a species of orang-outang, and ought not to be considered, and, consequently, not to be treated as belonging to the human race. His slaves, he added, were his property—his cattle; and he spoke the sentiments of all in the South, when he declared he would draw his sword against any one who should dare to interfere with his rights.—*Abdy*, vol. i., p. 377.

such an inferior capacity, that it is difficult to imagine their being able to exist in self-governing communities. The want of sympathy, or to speak plainly, the disgust, arising from these opinions also varies much. In America it is scarcely too much to say that it has been carried to the utmost extravagance. There are many people, excellent, I dare say, in other respects, whose prejudice against the dark race is such that they do not like to eat with them, journey with them, have their children educated with them, sit at any public place with them, worship near them, or approach the communion table in their company. Such are the social disabilities attendant upon a dark skin, or upon any shade of dark, visible or possible. It need scarcely be added that civil disabilities less hard to bear, perhaps, than social ones, are found, as usual, to accompany them.

Now is there any ground for all this exclusion and disgust? What is the capacity of the negro, and to whom is he related? First, as to his capacity.

In estimating the capacity of any race of men, the circumstances in which they have been placed must be carefully weighed. It is the opinion of some of the learned, that no instance has been found of a savage people becoming civilized without extraneous help. Yet we cannot doubt that amongst savage races there have

been, and are, many capable of high civilization. Without subscribing to the opinion of these learned men, I give it as an instance to show how slow must have been the observed progress amongst savages for such an opinion to be tenable at all. On the other hand, see what a rapid change in the nature of a race, a change of circumstances will produce. Nobody can deny that a considerable alteration has taken place in the nature of the white Americans (whether of English, Gallic, or Germanic origin) since they first settled in that country. Indeed, according to the account of a most intelligent traveller,* this change takes place in one or two generations. Now, many persons would think it at least as great a change as that from a white skin to a black one. If we did not know the origin of these relations of ours, the white men in America, we should be ingenious to a degree in pointing out the wonderful difference which

* An opinion, which travelling in this country has caused me to modify, is that which respects the permanence of national hereditary character, as transmitted independently of local and political circumstances. Almost everybody here tells me that even in the second generation (that is, in the children of emigrants) it is nearly impossible to recognize a distinction in habits or character between those of English, Scotch, and Irish blood. They are all American, wherever there is constant intercourse with the mass of the population, though, of course, not so where they live in districts or towns, exclusively together. My own experience stands strongly to confirm this remark.—*Godley's Letters from America*, vol. ii., p. 166.

race makes ; and we should probably account in this way for most of the political and civil contrasts which the two hemispheres present.

Passing now to the circumstances of the race we are considering,—let any men of the most favored European extraction imagine what they themselves would have become, if, from an early age, they had been treated as field negroes—driven to work in gangs, worked all day long under the fear of the lash, driven back again and penned up at night. Amongst men so treated, how is the feeling of duty to arise ; or where is the room for intellectual development ? Again, take a more favorable case, suppose that any one of the best European blood had been born to domestic slavery—liable to the caprices of infant cruelty, cared for as a piece of furniture—the thermometer of his master and mistress—if they are unkind, having scarcely any protection from their unkindness but their self-interest, (an undefined and mist-like barrier, which passion breaks through without even seeing it)—the mark of scorn to the passer-by—and finding every law and custom colored differently for his race and that of his masters—would you expect him to retain the greatness of his race ? I do not mean to say that all slaves feel these things exactly as I have put them, but they are brought forward to show what a man of any origin would have to contend against, if

subjected to treatment similar to that of the African race.

And even if we take the case of the free blacks in America, though it may surprise some persons that they have not done more, yet we have to make immense allowance for the depressing influences to which they are subject. When it is asserted that they have done nothing, in literature, science, or art, we must recollect how little the Anglo-Americans themselves have done in this way.* A young people have other things to do. But as regards the blacks, it is almost impossible to estimate the effect of continuous contempt upon a sensitive and impressionable people. Sir Charles Lyell kindly and wisely remarks: "If any individual be gifted with finer genius than the rest, his mind will be the more sensitive to discouragement, especially when it proceeds from a race whose real superiority over his colored fellow-citizens, in their present condition, he of all others would be the first to appreciate. It is after many trials attended with success, and followed by willing praise and applause, that self-confidence and intellectual power are slowly acquired; and no well-educated black has ever yet had an opportunity of ripening or displaying superior talents in this or any other civilized country."*****

* Much of what they have done, however, is of high promise.
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To expect, under such a combination of depressing circumstances, that, in half a century, and in a country where more than six sevenths of the race are still held in bondage, the newly emancipated citizens should under any form of government attain at once a position of real equality, is a dream of the visionary philanthropist." *

Lastly, even if it be found in America, or elsewhere, that the white population are very efficient in many ways in which the blacks are not; it still remains to be seen, whether that deficiency is one which forbids self-government and national existence. For these are the questions. Granted for the sake of argument that the blacks are but an imitative race, still, if they can imitate civilization, what claim have any of us inventive white men to prevent this beneficial imitation being carried to its utmost development? If there be this alleged deficiency of one kind of mental power in the African race, it is, perhaps, compensated for; and they may possess a superiority in faculties of another description which might greatly ennoble and Christianize even the pure Caucasian race.

We have hitherto been treating the matter in the abstract. If we come to consider the instances of proficiency which the negro race have

* *Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. i., p. 208.

already afforded, we have the amplest grounds for hopefulness about them. It is quite surprising that this part of their case should have been so little worked out. The wittiest of French writers says: "L'homme, en général, a toujours été ce qu'il est; cela ne veut pas dire qu'il ait toujours eu de belles villes, du canon de vingt-quatre livres de balle, des opéras comiques et des couvents de religieuses. Mais il a toujours eu le même instinct, que le porte à s'aimer dans soi-même, dans la compagne de son plaisir, dans ses enfants, dans ses petits-fils, dans les œuvres de ses mains." So, if we had but few facts to give in favor of the probability of a civilization of the negro race similar to our own, we might still contend for it on the general grounds of their resemblance to other branches of the human family in the main elements of civilization. But particular facts abound. It would be difficult to say in what branch of human affairs negroes have not shown some power of excelling. At school we find them, at any rate up to a certain age, equal to the white children. Their musical powers are undoubted, they have invented musical instruments,* their facility in acquiring languages is, in some instances, remarkable,† they preach, they act,

* Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa, vol. ii., pp. 7, 8.

† "The negroes on the coast of Angola have a remarkable talent for acquiring languages, although their own idiom differs

they edit newspapers, they make money sometimes, (surely this will tell in their favor with civilized people,) they make poetry, (a folly, perhaps, but a white one,) and there are instances of negroes excelling in abstract science.* Nay, there is even such a phenomenon as a black saint in the Calendar.†

But to form a just estimate of their powers, we must see them in their own country. To do so, let us see what is to be found in an African market, which I think my readers will agree with me in saying, is always one of the first things to be noticed in a strange country. The people of the Niger Expedition found "in the

so essentially from any with which we are acquainted, that a European can but seldom overcome the difficulties which it presents, and in some degree master it. I very frequently met with negroes who had been only four weeks on the coast, and who, within that incredibly short time, could not only understand Portuguese, but could make themselves perfectly intelligible in it. One of the most extensive slave-dealers in Loanda was formerly a slave, and after she had obtained her freedom, she studied the Portuguese language by herself, with such diligence that she not only speaks it very fluently, but even carries on her mercantile correspondence, with her own hand, in that language. In the kingdom of Ambriz all the negroes who have intercourse with Europeans speak English, to which many add Portuguese, and some even a tolerable knowledge of French. —*Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa*, vol. ii., p. 140.

* Lawrence's Lectures, pp. 430, 431. Ed. 1822.

† Benoit de Palermo "nigro quidem corpore sed candore animi præclarissimus quem et miraculis Deus contestatum esse voluit."—*Grégoire, De la Littérature des Nègres*. Paris, 1808, p. 80

market-place of Gori bags of salt, tobos of various colors, country cloths, camwood in balls, iron-works, as hoes and shovels, Indian corn, dried buffalo's flesh and dried fish, ground-nuts, twine, silk, seeds of various kinds, shea butter, straw hats with enormous brims, platters of woods, and calabashes beautifully carved." * This is not so uncivilized : we find too from another authority,† that the power of working iron possessed by some of the African tribes, is such as will bear comparison with our own.

But the extracts I am now going to give from the work of an American officer, will much more astonish those who are wont to take for granted the great inferiority of the negro race.

"The native houses here (Dixcove) are quite large, three or four being two stories high, with balconies, built of stone, in the Spanish style. They are furnished with sofas, bedsteads, and pictures. * * * It is interesting to meet the natives of Africa at so advanced

* Medical History of the Niger Expedition, by Dr. M'William, p. 87.

† "European sabres are occasionally met with, but I am free to confess, that those of African manufacture can compete with them. Some of the tribes who inhabit the rich mining districts towards the southeast, are renowned for their weapons and hardware. The workmanship of the javelins is of a very superior kind ; they are, on an average, five feet in length, and are made entirely of iron, covered from the middle to the butt-end with long-haired goat's skin."—*Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa*, vol. i., p. 139.

a stage of refinement, yet retaining somewhat of their original habits and character, which is of course entirely lost in the Liberian colonists.

"When the white man sets his foot on the shores of Africa, he finds it necessary to throw off his former prejudices. For my own part, I have dined at the tables of many colored men in Liberia, have entertained them on shipboard, worshipped with them at church; walked, rode, and associated with them, as equal with equal, if not as friend with friend. Were I to meet those men in my own town, and among my own relatives, I would treat them kindly and hospitably, as they have treated me. My position would give me confidence to do so. But in another city, where I might be known to few, should I follow the dictates of my head and heart, and there treat these colored men as brethren and equals, it would imply the exercise of greater moral courage than I have ever been conscious of possessing." *

* *Journal of an African Cruiser*, p. 134, *Wiley and Putnam*, 1845.

Another European who is conversant with the negroes in Africa, amply confirms the views of the American officer.

"The innumerable stories which are current, both among partial observers, and in books of travel, had excited in me an unfavorable prejudice against the negroes, and the few skulls of the genuine negro race (of North Guinea) which had come under my own observation, had tended to confirm it; yet a short residence among them, and a careful, impartial observation of these people, sufficed to convince me, that the supposed imperfect human being was a complete man, whose melancholy situation and depressed condition alone have so sadly degraded him.
* * * * * We can only form a correct judgment of

If, taking a deeper view of the subject, we consider the moral character of the negro race generally, there is great ground to be sanguine about them. Their cheerfulness is admitted: they have not been found to show a want of tenderness in any social relation: they are not an irreligious race; and, as regards their veracity, I observe that one of these travellers mentions, that though he found the negroes would use falsehood and artifice for their own ends, yet in general narratives they were cautious and scrupulous, often using the expression, "I think he be true." Now, it is not an inconsiderable progress in truth-telling, when people are careful to speak the truth about matters which do not concern themselves.

If our instances of intellectual and moral development in the negro were all taken from some country where slavery does not exist, it might be argued that, perhaps, there was some capability in the negro before he was enslaved; but that the race could never emerge out of slavery. Facts, however, contradict any theory of this kind; for it is found in America that the

the negro, when we see him under his own native skies, living in peace and freedom in his little hut, and surrounded by his wife and children, and domestic enjoyments, where all his interests centre, where he reaps the fruits of his labor, and where he must contend for all that is dear to him."—*Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa*, vol. ii., pp. 130, 134.

free people of color are greatly superior to the slaves "in appearance, dress, manners, and intelligence."*

Again, it may be contended that all the facts adduced above are instances of individual merit, and that they merely show excellence in what may be called domestic matters; that there is no proof of there being substance in the negro character to form a nation; and that we cannot imagine a negro government otherwise than as a most barbarous thing. To be sure Toussaint has afforded an instance of a great leader; and Liberia an example of an able governor, of whom we read, that "his deportment is dignified, quiet, and sensible; that he has been tried in war as well as in peace, and has invariably been brave, cool, and successful."

It goes some way to make us credit the possibility of national existence in a race, when we find amongst them men who can govern. But a far more remarkable indication of this possibility is to be seen in the history of the negroes of the Palmares or Palm Forests in the Captaincy of Pernambuco. Mr. Southey gives an account of this interesting republic in his history of Brazil. It existed for sixty years; and was formed of the negroes, who, escaping from slavery, acted upon the offensive and attacked the

* *Buckingham's America*, vol. i., p. 454.

Portuguese; gaining their wives as the first Romans theirs. They were governed by a chief elected for life, called the Zombi; and it is said by their enemies that the laws and government of this negro people were very good; and that during the whole time the State was in existence, there was no instance of political trouble of any kind.

The Pernambucans found it worth while to trade with the black republic; and, notwithstanding it was forbidden, supplied them with arms, ammunition, and European commodities, in exchange for their produce and booty.

At last the Portuguese State was obliged to bestir itself against this black community. Caetano de Mello, the governor, resolved to extirpate the negroes, and ordered one of his officers, Domingos Jorge, to attack the Palmares, who marched against their chief settlement with a thousand men. Mr. Southey's description of the place cannot well be abridged.

"A double palisade of the hardest wood which the forests of Brazil produce, inclosed within a circuit of four or five miles a population of more than twenty thousand persons. The fortification was strengthened by many bulwarks: there were only three gates, which were placed at equal distances; each had its platform of defence, and was at all times under the charge of one of their best officers. The palace of the

Zombi was spacious, and not without a kind of rude magnificence; and the houses of individuals were, after their fashion, commodious and splendid. There was a lake within the circuit abounding with fish, and there were also running streams, * * * but the water seems to have been brackish or salt, for the inhabitants sunk wells, or rather those shallow pits that are called *cacimbas*, which implies that it was only rendered potable by filtration. There was also a high rock within the inclosure, which served them for a watch-post, and from whence some of the Pernambucan towns and settlements were visible in the distance. Besides this, their chief city, they had many smaller settlements or garrisons, called *Mocambos*, in which chosen men were stationed for the defence of the plantations."

Domingos Jorge pitched his camp before the town. The negroes unexpectedly made a sally, and "eight hundred persons on both sides were killed and wounded." The Portuguese commander then thought it best to go back again to Porto Calvo, and make a junction with a large body of troops which was waiting for him there. The siege was renewed by an army of six thousand Portuguese under another commander, Bernardo Vieira de Mello. An escalade was attempted, which was repelled by the negroes with arrows, boiling water, fire-arms, and fire-

brands. The powder of the negroes was at last exhausted. The Portuguese, however, were still successfully resisted: and they were obliged to send for reinforcements and cannon. Both sides were now in want of provisions: the negroes in want of missiles also. At last from the watch-tower they beheld large convoys of cattle, laden horses and carts, coming to the besiegers' camp. Upon this, the enfamished men lost their spirit, the gates were forced, and the Zombi with the most resolute of his followers threw themselves headlong from the precipice. The survivors were enslaved.

These men wanted but a poet. Their fate would make an epic, showing any thing but negro incapacity.

There is one aspect of the negro faculties and character, which, for want of materials, has seldom been presented to us; and that is, the aspect which they presented to the first discoverers of their land. In another work I have given some account of these discoveries: and the circumstance which struck me most in considering the narrative, was the respect with which the new race of men was regarded by the old, on their first great meeting since the introduction of Christianity. I do not recollect one instance of abusive or depreciatory language in the contemporary accounts, or in those of the

earliest historians. The only distinction which the foremost man in modern geographical discovery, Prince Henry of Portugal, seems to have made between the negroes and any other race was a religious one. In sending out one of his captains, he tells him, that "if he should not be able to obtain so many negroes (as had been mentioned) in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he should take them; for whatever number he should get, he would gain souls, because they (the negroes) might be converted to the faith, which could not be managed with the Moors."*

Instances of negro bravery, of negro sagacity, and of some considerable knowledge of the arts of life occur in this narrative; and if we take the very first account we have of the religious ceremonies and opinions at a negro court, we shall not find it such as to give us a mean idea of the development of the negro mind in that respect; and it may contrast favorably with the religious rites of many savage nations.

It is to be found in the travels of Ca da Mosto, a young Venetian who visited Africa, under Prince Henry's orders, about the middle of the fifteenth century. "Budomel" † (the

* "Conquerors of the New World," vol. i., p. 28. *Barros*, dec. 1, lib. 1, capt. 7.

† "The Conquerors of the New World," vol. i., p. 52. "*Astley's Voyages*," vol. i., p. 584.

king of a territory in or near the present Foulah) "behaved with great complaisance to Ca da Mosto, and carried him into the mosque; for, towards evening, he ordered the Azanaghi or Arabs, whom he always has about him, to say prayers. His manner was thus:—Being entered into the mosque (which was in one of the courts) with some of the principal negroes, he first stood with his eyes lifted up, then he advanced two steps, and spoke a few words softly; after which he stretched himself on the ground and kissed it. The Azanaghi and all the rest did the same. Then rising, he repeated the same acts over again, ten or twelve times, which took up half an hour. When he had done, he asked the author's opinion of their manner of worship, and to give him some account of his own religion. Hereupon Ca da Mosto told him, in presence of his doctors, that the religion of Mohammed was false, and the Romish the true one. This made the Arabs mad and Budomel laugh; who, on this occasion, said that he looked upon the religion of the Europeans to be good: for that none but God could have given them so much riches and understanding. He added, however, that the Mohammedan law must be also good; and that he believed the negroes were more sure of salvation than the Christians, because God was a just Lord; and, therefore, as he had given the latter Paradise in

this world, it ought to be possessed in the world to come by the negroes, who had scarce any thing here, in comparison of the others. In all his discourse he showed a good understanding, and took great pleasure in hearing the customs of the Christians. Ca da Mosto believed he might easily have been converted, were it not for fear of losing his estate; for his nephew, in whose house he lodged, often told him so; and took great delight himself in hearing the author talk of his religion."

A striking indication of the favorable aspect which the negroes presented to their first conquerors and masters is to be found in the account of Bemoin, one of the princes of the blood royal of Jalof, who came to Lisbon to seek succor from the king of Portugal in consequence of some intestine divisions in the country of Jalof. I take the very words of the historian. "Bemoin, because he was a man of large size and fine presence, about forty years old, with a long and well-arranged beard, appeared indeed not like a barbarous pagan, but as one of our own princes, to whom all honor and reverence were due: with like majesty and gravity of demeanor he commenced and finished his oration, with such inducements to make men bewail his sad fortune in exile, that only seeing these natural signs of sorrow, people comprehended what the interpreter afterwards said.

And having finished the statement of his case as a good orator would, in declaring that his only remedy and only hope was in the greatness and generosity of the king, with whom he spoke aside for a short time, he was answered by the king in few words, so much to his satisfaction that immediately it made a change in his whole look, spirits, and bearing, rendering him most joyous. And taking leave of the king, he went to kiss the queen's hand, and then that of the prince, to whom he said a few words, at the end of which he prayed the prince that he would intercede in his favor with the king. And thence he was conducted to his lodgings by all the nobility that accompanied him."*

Portugal was at that time one of the most important countries in Europe, and the Portuguese amongst the most accomplished people. From many other facts and considerations which have reference to the Spanish as well as the Portuguese, I have no doubt that the first impression produced by the negroes on the Europeans of the fifteenth century, was very dissimilar to that which has since grown up in the minds of their descendants.

We need not proceed further with instances of negroes excelling in matters bearing an affin-

* *Burros*, dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 6. "The Conquerors of the New World," vol. i., p. 70.

ity to European civilization. My object is not to prove that the negro may become equal and alike to the Caucasian. On the contrary, I am inclined to think that there are considerable differences in kind, pointing to different developments: nor, for my own part, should I particularly desire that the faculties of any race, even our own Anglo-Saxon one, should absorb the work of the world. The scheme of the world is very large; and, as it has been quaintly said, "it takes a many to make a world." The Caucasian may be a nobly-developed creature; but there may be work to be done by another variety of the human species. The advocates of slavery may think that this is an admission tending to their views. It may be allowed that there is peculiar physical work to be done by the negro race; certain parts of the earth, therefore, particularly adapted for their residence; which, indeed, may be so constituted as perpetually to remind other races that they are intruders in those quarters: but I mean that there may be certain ideas to be fulfilled by this race, certain gifts and certain modes of character to be most largely developed by them; and certain relations to be fulfilled by them towards other races—not the relation of slavery though. It may be the happiest privilege of the Caucasians, when really highly developed, to lead their dark-hued brethren to the arts and wisdom fitted for

them. That may be one of their especial works in the great human family. Look everywhere how creation is developed by the complex interweaving of various gifts, natures, and attainments. In States, where what we call civilization has long made its appearance, it seems hard, very hard, that for generations the lower class should have been so little mentally developed; yet from that stock of unwrought mind has often come the supply of faculty which has enriched the greatest minds; and so, perhaps, the species may make greater gain in this way than had a more equable development taken place all over society. In the end, too, more human beings may thus be made more of. There is the same thing probably in the intercommunication of nations, which may go on slowly for generations, individual nationalities having thus room to grow up, and wise purposes being effected from the human mind not being in the same state of progress all the world over. There is a similar thing again to be observed, I think, in the individual mind. Had it been our business to arrange the faculties of men, how much more level and consistent we should have made them! Into this fierce and passionate nature we should not have put tenderness, and, strange to say, judgment: into that character, in other respects so great, how could we have permitted a fearful influx of van-

ity, forever to derange and mortify its greatness. Had we the ordering of things, there would be no "fears of the brave and follies of the wise!"—a man doing the last thing that he would deliberately wish to do, contradicting the rest of himself as much as he contradicts truth and wisdom. Yet from this confusion, deplorable as it may appear to us, the soul of man comes out informed by misery and strengthened by sharp contest.

A similar class of observations, which I need not do more than indicate the existence of, may be applied to the arrangement of soils and the peopling of countries in the physical world. And, in fine, what I mean to suggest is, that absence of cultivation does not argue radical inferiority; that the perfection of our Caucasian race, or such perfection as that most readily admits of, may not be the whole of the divine scheme respecting the inhabitants of this earth: and, moreover, that our development might lack its greatest use and ornament, if we were not led by it to take our darker brother by the hand and show him whatever we have learnt of wisdom and of virtue.

Having shown what things the negro race are capable of, both individually and nationally, it might be thought superfluous to enter into any question respecting the origin and nature of that race. But the hasty conclusions which have

been come to upon questions of this kind are at the bottom of so much intolerance, that it is amply worth while to look into them a little for ourselves. Jeremy Taylor used to say, on seeing some bad men pass by, "there goes my wicked self," so distinctly did that noble tolerant man appreciate the close moral relationship between himself and a very erring brother. That feeling towards another which leads one to think, "it is possible I might be such as he:" "he is of the same kind as I am," is a never-failing source of charity. Did we think, for instance, when we saw a black slave pass, "there goes my ill-used self," disgust and intolerance at his present degraded condition would give way to the deepest sympathy. Something of the unwearied tenderness which men have even for the faults of their children, their own flesh and blood as they call them, might surely extend to the misfortunes of their distant kindred. "Am I not a man and a brother?" is a phrase that from ludicrous associations is wont to provoke our laughter; but there is a force in that appeal which ridicule will not do away with.

Now, in what sense are the negroes our brethren? An inquiry into the origin and character of nations requires a knowledge which few possess, of living men, of history, languages, geography, anatomy, and general physiology. We must, therefore, not be surprised at many

persons holding fixed opinions upon these matters, as they would upon the nicest points of divinity, with very insufficient knowledge to rely upon. Neither must we be surprised that those opinions should obey the first impressions of the senses, as all first thoughts have done. Common sense (as it is mostly interpreted) tells us that things which burn us must be hot themselves; men were thousands of years before they suspected the contrary: such common sense also tells us that there must be some essential difference between the negroes and ourselves. In answer to this opinion resulting from first impressions, I quote the following passage from the work of an eminent physiologist.

“In features, as in color, the different races are connected to each other by the most gentle gradations; so that, although any two extremes, when contrasted, appear strikingly different, they are joined by numerous intermediate and very slightly different degrees; and no formation is exhibited so constantly in all the individuals of one race, as not to admit of numerous exceptions.

“We see, indeed, an astonishing difference when we place an ugly negro (for there are such as well as ugly Europeans) against a specimen of the Grecian ideal model; but, when we trace the intermediate gradations, the striking diversity vanishes. ‘Of the negroes of both sexes,’ says Blumenbach, ‘whom I have attentively examined, in very considerable num-

ber, as well as in the portraits and profiles of others, and in the numerous negro crania, which I possess or have seen, there are not two completely resembling each other in their formation: they pass, by insensible gradations, into the forms of the other races, and approach to the other varieties even in their most pleasing modifications. A creole whom I saw at Yverdun, born of parents from Congo, and brought from St. Domingo by the Chevalier Treytorrens, had a countenance, of which no part, not even the nose, and rather strongly marked lips, were very striking, much less displeasing; the same features with a European complexion would certainly have been generally agreeable. The testimony of Le Maire, in his journey to Senegal and Gambia, is to the same effect; and there are negroes, except in color, as handsome as European women. Vaillant says of the Caffre women, that setting aside the prejudice which operates against their color, many might be accounted handsome, even in a European country. The accurate Adanson confirms this statement, in his description of the Senegambians. The women are equally well made with the men. Their skin is of the finest texture, and extremely soft. The eyes are black and large: the mouth and lips small; and all the features well proportioned; several are perfectly beautiful. They have much vivacity; and an easy air, which is very pleasing.

“The Jaloffs, according to Mungo Park, have not the protuberant lip nor flat nose of the African countenance. We have also the testimony of another traveller concerning this tribe, to the same effect: according to Moore, they have handsome features, and neither

broad noses nor thick lips. Pigafetta states, that the Congo negroes have not the thick lips of the Nubians, and that, except in color, they are very like the Portuguese. Dampier, in his account of Natál, describes the natives as having curled hair, but a long face, well proportioned nose, and agreeable countenance. The six negro crania engraved in the two first decades of Blumenbach, exhibit very clearly this diversity of character in the African race: and prove, most unequivocally, that the variety among individuals is certainly not less, but greater, than the difference between some of them and many Europeans.”*

- But objectors will say, “we have always heard that there are essential differences of nature between the black and the white races, not to be got over by the above-mentioned vague resemblances to Europeans in certain negroes, or even in certain tribes of negroes.” This is the very part of the case on which I hope to show that the opponents of slavery may challenge inquiry rather than avoid it.

There is scarcely a more curious and instructive chapter in the whole history of scientific research, than that connected with the investigation of the negro nature. The first thoughts of science, like the popular theories, were all on the narrow and exclusive side of the question. There were very elaborate researches which

* *Lawrence's Lectures*, pp. 283, 284.

went to prove that in the dark race there was a membrane between the outer cuticle and the cutis, which is entirely wanting in white men. Here then was a valid distinction of species. Some German anatomists, however, in their solid manner, made a more elaborate investigation into the nature of the skin, and discovered that it does not consist of continuous membranes at all, but that it is of cellular structure throughout. There are certain "pigment-cells," as they are called, which produce the abnormal discolorations sometimes seen in white men and women, and the normal colorations in negroes. In few words, therefore, the skin barrier is broken down: there is the possibility of negrohood in the finest Caucasian integument.

Russia leather may, perhaps, be entitled to look down upon simple calf; but a white skin had better be content with its difference to the eye, and not endeavor to arrogate to itself any generic difference whatever.

Again, with respect to negro hair. The epithet "woolly" has been applied to it from the time of Herodotus, but this is a mere metaphor. When seen by the microscope, wool is serrated: hair is smooth and cylindrical. The hair of negroes, when subjected to careful microscopic examination, was found to be cylindrical and smooth as that of a European. The difference was only in color and in crispation; so that no

difference in species can be raised upon the woolliness of negro hair.*

The history of the facial angle is similar to that of the black skin. Camper, the first inventor of the mode of appreciating crania by the facial angle, found in the head of the statue of Apollo an angle of one hundred degrees; in the Caucasian head an angle of eighty degrees; in the negro head of an angle of seventy degrees; and in one of the Simiæ, most neighboring to man's nature, an angle of fifty degrees.† The difference between the Caucasian and these unpleasantly similar apes being but thirty degrees, the difference between the negro and the Caucasian of ten degrees, was a serious difference. Professor Owen, however, discovered that these calculations had been made from the crania of young apes, which had led to an entirely wrong conclusion. He found that the facial angle of the *adult* troglodyte is only thirty-five degrees; of the orang, thirty degrees. The difference between the Caucasian angle and the ape angle being now found to be forty-five or fifty degrees, the ten degrees of difference between the negro and the Caucasian become considerably less significant.

A similar story may be told of the progress of scientific research into the position of the great

* *Prichard's Natural History of Man.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 112.

occipital foramen, the form of the pelvis and the length of the fore-arm.* In all these cases science has had, upon maturer thought, to recall, or to modify, its first unfavorable impressions against the negro. Probably, in our estimation of the moral and mental capability of the race a like progress will have to be noted: charity and kindness are incidentally, as well as directly, the growth of thought and intellectual labor.

Without further fatiguing my readers by long enumeration of physiological arguments, I will merely give them the result, as it appears to me, of what I have seen on the subject. The arguments of physiologists have gone far to prove, I think, that men are all of one species. Some of the best authorities are agreed upon this. Where they differ is, as to the causes of the varieties of that species. Some would be inclined to attribute much to the influence of climate. Others would say that the causes ordinarily given to account for the varieties of the human species—such as climate, diet, mode of life, etc., are no causes whatever; and that the differences of organization, and of qualities which characterize the several races of our species, are “analogous in kind and degree to those which distinguish the breeds of the domestic

* *Prichard's Natural History of Man*, pp. 117, 126, 129.

animals."* If a black man comes to a cold climate, he and his descendants do not, on that account, lose one atom of the distinguishing characteristics of their race. If an English sheep go to Jamaica, it and its offspring would, I believe, keep the heavy fleece which is supposed to be more congenial to our cold climate. The lecturer quoted above concludes that domestication has made those changes in men and animals which we call, in the former, a variety of races; in the latter, a variety of breeds. If we accept this view of the matter, what shall we say that there is in this thing, domestication, beyond change of food, climate, way of life, and the various physical circumstances which the same writer has shown in detail to have no effect in altering a race, however much they may affect an individual? I suspect the answer to be this, that only those changes in physical circumstances which have an effect upon the mind, so to speak, of the animal have an effect upon the race. This theory seems capable of reconciling the opposite facts and conclusions that have been adduced by scientific men on this subject. As long as it can be said of men or animals, "*Cælum non animum mutant*," so long the race is unaltered. But let physical or

* *Lawrence's Lectures*, p. 473.

moral circumstances be so altered as to call out, or to repress, or to call out in one direction, the energies of the animal, and a change in the breed may be expected. Change of mind is the cause of change of physical structure in the race. This hypothesis need not surprise us. Every day we are becoming more enlightened as to the power of mind upon body. Formerly we were more inclined to dwell on the inverse operation. Consider the alteration of structure in the heads of individual men. Look at the head of Augustus when young; and then at it after the weight of empire had rested upon it. What a change there is! And we may notice a similar change, I do not doubt, in the case of living men.

I do not build any important part of my argument in behalf of the negroes on this theory, or on any theory. But if we must have a theory about the origin of the varieties of race in the human species, I would rather say that they have been caused by mental operations. If negroes are a degenerate race, cultivation of mind may reclaim them; if, as is at least equally probable, they are not degenerate but different, still cultivation is necessary to develop this species to the highest, when it may take its place, though not in the same ranks, yet side by side with the Caucasian variety. Again I say, these are but theories:

but as our theories often interfere with our charity, it is well in this instance to see whether there may not be some theory which at least may throw no discouragement on our efforts for this hitherto ill-starred race of men.

Some people may think it very absurd to talk of mental operations as the chief means of creating the difference of races. "What has mind to do with black and white?" they will exclaim. But darkness of skin is one of the least important of the points of outward difference between the white and dark races. The main question is as to the difference of cerebral formation. After reading the following extract my readers will feel how little there is in mere darkness of hue.

"Two nations of Calla or Blacks, very different in physical character and social condition from each other, are now found in the country of ancient Ethiopia; the Shankalli, or the true negro, and the Dankalli, who belong decidedly to the Circassian variety of mankind, possessing round skulls, high full foreheads; the position of the eyes rectilinear; the nose, the mouth, and form of countenance being in every respect concordant with the characters assigned to that type of the human race, excepting their color, which was a dark brown, or sometimes quite black. Their hair, which is much frizzled and worn very full, is a savage caricature of a barrister's wig. I could perceive no other difference in features in the form of the head between ourselves

and several individuals of this people: indeed, there was often such a striking resemblance between them and some of my European acquaintances, that it was not unusual for me to distinguish them by bestowing the names of some of my far-distant friends upon their Dankalli counterparts.”*

The way in which this intelligent traveller conveys to us the facial likeness of the Dankalli to the Circassian variety is irresistibly convincing from its naturalness. He finds, on seeing more of these Dankalli, that their abilities fully justified their physiognomy; he sees reason to rate them much higher than the Arabs: and finally concludes that the Dankalli are “the remains of a once great and powerful people.” The impression produced on this traveller goes to show how little mere color has to do with inferiority of nature.

I shall continue to avail myself of the observations of this traveller, as they afford a good opportunity of noticing how the subject widens when carefully considered, and of seeing how rash any harsh conclusion against the capacity of the negro race would be.

After living amongst these different races of negroes, the traveller in question comes to a conclusion, which, as we have seen, certain scientific men at home have also come to, in

* See *Johnston's Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, vol. i., p. 15.

favor of "the original unity of nations." This is important, for there are impressions and observations which escape scientific description, or indeed narrative of any kind; and if we found that all travellers were convinced that negroes were not from the same stock as ourselves, scientific men would have a much harder task to convince us of its possibility. But, to continue with this traveller's observations.

"From what I have observed myself, the Dankalli, the Shankalli, and the Bushmen, are the lowest grades of the three varieties of the human race—the Arian or Circassian, the Amhara or negro, and the Gonga or Mongolian, all of whom have a height of civilization and a depth of barbarism distinct from each other; and that, however the Bushman may be improved, he will only become a civilized Chinese, and that a negro may, by education, be made an ancient Egyptian, but would never by that alone become the enlightened Circassian that his neighbor the Dankalli would, certainly, be made."*

This may seem to militate against his former opinion in favor of the original unity of nations. But, though they may have been originally from one stock, that does not prove that they can be brought back to such unity. Not that I see why anybody should place these abrupt stops; and I am inclined to think it probable that if we had

* See *Johnston's Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, vol. ii., p. 446

seen only the best specimens of Chinese, Egyptian, and Circassian varieties, we should, after much observation, conclude that these three varieties might all be brought by cultivation to one race—at least in the main features of intellectual and moral development. For my own part, I am content, seeing how much we owe to Egypt, to leave the negroes linked to the possibility of Egyptian civilization. But, perhaps, the larger ground we leave for ourselves in this matter, the better. The opinions of Sir Charles Lyell, in reference to the ancient Mexican civilization, bear closely upon this subject, and are at once safe and charitable. Putting aside for the moment their other attainments, which were very great, he dwells upon their advance in astronomical knowledge; their calendar, for instance, at the time of the conquest being more correct than that of their conquerors, or indeed of the European community.

“If, then,” he says, “a large continent can be inhabited by hundreds of tribes, all belonging to the same race, and nearly all remaining for centuries in a state of apparently hopeless barbarism, while two or three of them make a start in their social condition, and in the arts and sciences; if these same nations when brought into contact with Europeans, relapse and retrograde until they are scarcely distinguishable in intellectual rank from the rude hunter tribes de-

ascended from a common stock; what caution ought we not to observe when speculating on the inherent capacities of any other great member of the human family! The negro, for example, may have remained stationary in all hitherto explored parts of the African continent, and may even have become more barbarous when brought within the influence of the white man, and yet may possess within his bosom the germ of a civilization as active and refined as that of the golden age of Tezcuco." *

It has now been shown that the negroes as individuals have done worthy things; that they are capable of national development; and that we must not lightly conclude that they are an essentially different race to ourselves. But all this is much more than there is occasion to prove for the present argument. Even if it were granted that the negro race is not capable of any thing like what we call high civilization, is that a sufficient reason for the creation, or continuation, of slavery? *Will any body contend that his state, as a slave, is the highest of which the negro is capable?* A French magistrate of St. Domingo, speaking of the blacks, in 1770, uses these words: "Il existe parmi nous une classe naturellement notre ennemie, et qui porte encore sur son front l'empreinte de l'esclavage;

* See *Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. ii., pp. 38, 39.

ce n'est que par des lois de rigueur qu'elle doit être conduite. Il est nécessaire d'appesantir sur elle le mépris et l'opprobre qui lui est dévolu en naissant. Ce n'est qu'en brisant les ressorts de leur âme qu'on pourra les conduire au bien."*

This is open language: it is to answer such ideas, (which, happily, are much less frequent now,) and less monstrous modifications of them, that I have endeavored to show that there is no race (and that there never has been any) whom slavery becomes.

At the same time that we are called upon to assert the just claims of the negro race, we must look with some tenderness upon the feelings of their Anglo-American masters and neighbors. It is very well for us to ridicule, or denounce, the dislike of white men to black men. We see the latter now and then: some of us have rather a prejudice in favor of these "images of God cut in ebony," (which, by the way, seems to show that there is no immediate natural dislike towards the race,) but if they swarmed among us we might be of a different opinion. The way to look at the matter fairly for America, is not to compare our sane state with their unsound one on this subject, but to take us both when in a state of similar preju

* See *Abdy*, vol. i., p. 345.

dice. Consider the wild fear of Englishmen in Charles the Second's time, lest a few Papists should burn or murder the rest of the nation. Or take another instance less remote from the American prejudice we are combating—namely, the general dislike of Englishmen to Scotchmen, when Lord Bute was Minister. Of course this is not to be compared to the Anglo-American aversion to the African race. But it may serve to show how far and how deep an unreasonable prejudice against a nation may extend.

Without flinching in the least from our opinion of the nature of the prejudice in America against the blacks; holding it to be irrational, unfounded, unchristian, still we cannot treat it as if it were an easy matter to get rid of—an evil which, by mere statement of its wrongness, could at once be put down. It pervades large portions of the American people, assuming different forms. In this State it appears as jealous dislike; in that, as contempt and fear. Under such malignant influences, strange laws and cruel practices are scarcely to be wondered at. All thoughtful men must pity the white Americans with this awful question before them, threatening civil feuds and favoring foreign attack; doing hourly mischief to the character of many a slave-owner; and hindering the poor free man from gaining his bread in ways which are no shame to him. It may

surely be said that this is a race which has not gained any thing by becoming owners of slaves.

We have, in America, one of the greatest races as masters: one of those which are considered lowest, as slaves. It has been shown that neither race makes the most of itself by the relation which it holds to the other: and we may fairly conclude with the assertion—that there are no races to which the preceding arguments against slavery do not apply.

ELLESMERE. I delight in questions about the races of men, and in getting at the different strata of nations. Human geology!

DUNSFORD. Philology is very important in these questions.

ELLESMERE. No knowledge comes amiss to them.

MILVERTON. In speaking of the character of a nation, it is impossible to say what comes from the education and laws that have acted on the people and their ancestors, and what comes from race. At any rate, it is most unphilosophical to attribute all that we see in national character to one cause and then, perhaps, having resolved that race is the cause, to talk despondingly about national improvement. I have no doubt that, before Father Matthew's triumphs, you would have heard intemperance set down as a thing belonging to the Irish race, and would have been told that the Celtic nature could not break itself of any bad habit. But human nature is a thing to which we at least can put no limits, and which requires to be treated

with unbounded hopefulness: only do not let us think that this hopefulness is for white and not for black nature.

DUNSFORD. You remember —— and —— at College. They had a good sprinkling of negro blood. Well, one of them was very clever, and both of them very good fellows—gave me very little trouble, which, by the way, cannot be said of either of you.

MILVERTON. I hope you have noticed that I was very careful not to place the strength of my case upon any hypothesis about race. Not that I have any fear of investigation into that subject. On the contrary, my fear is lest there should not be sufficient investigation. All knowledge tends to further humanity, enabling us to go some way in detecting the grand laws of the universe. It would seem but little less than blasphemy to me to suppose that slavery was otherwise than an invention of man, which will be fully found out and reproved in time. Mental science tends to tolerance, physical science to active kindness and the well-being of men. We gradually find out that crime is a blunder, and cruelty a mistake.

ELLESMERE. Stop, stop; are we not getting on rather quickly to theories of perfectibility and the like?

MILVERTON. No. As long as men are men, and the earth any thing like what we see at present, there will be trials enough to exercise and develop the greatest men; but surely it is not irrational to hope that the life of man may be less and less “short, nasty, violent, and brutish,” as Hobbes would say. I cannot but think that this is one of the lesser meanings of the words, “thy kingdom come.”

DUNSFORD. I quite agree with you.

MILVERTON. But I must say again, I am not bound down by theories of any kind about race. I only say, that the existing state of slavery is such as to leave no just room for self-development, and is not consistent with the ineffaceable distinction between things and persons. I think that Montesquieu is thoroughly right, when he says that slavery is a one-sided institution, a thing fundamentally wrong.*

ELLESMERE. But advocates for slavery would say that preservation of the negroes themselves enters into their (the advocates') view of the case, and so they recognize the personality of the slave, and take away the one-sidedness you complain of so. I do not agree with them in the least, but that is what they would say.

MILVERTON. They cannot say so, without turning their backs upon all the facts of the case. The negroes when enfranchised may not live exactly in the way that suits the fancy of these theorists, but they will live—ay, and thrive too.

ELLESMERE. You talk of the necessity of allowing human beings room for self-development—what is there allowed in that way to our free peasants?

* This is the passage, I imagine, that Milverton alludes to :
 “Ce qui fait que la mort d'un criminel est une chose licite, c'est que la loi qui le punit a été faite en sa faveur. Un meurtrier, par exemple, a joui de la loi qui le condamne ; elle lui a conservé la vie à tous les instants : il ne peut donc pas réclamer contre elle. Il n'en est pas de même de l'esclave ; la loi de l'esclavage n'a jamais pu lui être utile ; elle est dans tous les cas contre lui, sans jamais être pour lui ; ce qui est contraire au principe fondamental de toutes les sociétés.”—*Montesquieu, de l'Esprit des Loix*, liv. 15, chap. 2.

MILVERTON. You are only trying me. Talk with a peasant: you will not find, perhaps, the exact development that comes by books; but you will often perceive that the soul of that man has gone through considerable education. His has not been mere passive suffering, like that of an animal; but he has struggled and refrained, and gained both delights and miseries for himself. In the war of life he has been a soldier, while the other was but an animal carrying, under many blows, the camp baggage.

LUCY. I wish, Mr. Ellesmere, you would come and live for a little time in the country, and then you might learn to understand us a little.

ELLESMERE. You had better at once wish all you can against me, Miss Daylmer; and say, as the witty Duke of Buckingham did to the dog that bit him, "I wish you were married, and went to live in the country." Is not that a good story, Milverton? One feels how Charles the Second must have liked the Duke's society.

DUNSFORD. Do not interrupt us with your jokes, Ellesmere. I was going to say that I was greatly struck by that passage you quoted, Milverton, from some man about certain Dankalli or Shankalli who were complete likenesses in ebony of some of his friends. Imagine black Ellesmeres and Milvertons.

MILVERTON. I think I hear a black Ellesmere making an elaborate speech to a grave squatting circle of us about the vested rights of some minors in certain scalps.

ELLESMERE. Both you and I, Milverton, are very

like savages in one thing—our love of animals. And that reminds me to tell you that I was thinking, during the essay, it would not be beneath or beside your purpose to show the difference produced in the disposition of animals by treatment. Now horses, for instance,—they often see nothing but the worst society amongst men ; and are shamefully treated into the bargain.

MILVERTON. Yes, it often occurs to me, in going along the streets, how few men can be trusted with the whip even for animals.

ELLESMERE. And if we were arguing about races, and had only seen ill-treated horses, how unjust would be our notion even of a horse's capacity and nature ! We should think the degree of tameness and obedience which we ourselves have seen, Utopian ; and as to the idea of there being in the horse what the Arab finds in it, we should pronounce that to be a wild imagination.

DUNSFORD. We have much to answer for in our treatment of animals.

MILVERTON. A great deal of it is mere ignorance. What we were agreed upon, as regards the physical education of children a good many essays ago, would apply to these poor animals. They want more light and air, and I should say more freedom in their stables, gentle usage, little work when young, and not to be much jerked about or to be pulled up suddenly, or to have severe bearing reins, or to be beaten for being frightened.

ELLESMERE. The ways of wise government are almost universal in their application, from animals up

to Caucasians. There is a great deal, by the way, that you say for the quadrupeds which you did not for the bipeds, and that would do for both.

I pass by the unkindness of Miss Daylmer's smiling when you talked of animals not being beaten for being frightened. I know she was thinking of my ride home from —— and of my exploits with that mare.

MILVERTON. My wish to see an opportunity of self-development extends to animals. I am impatient at seeing an animal have no chance of coming to its best.

ELLESMERE. Mine does not "extend" to animals: it begins there, I don't know whether it goes on. Benevolence, you know, is not my forte.

DUNSFORD. Now, Ellesmere, do not make yourself out worse than you are.

MILVERTON. Not seeing that the meaning of life is this development, is the capital blunder of men individually and one of the main defects of worldly wisdom in all times. We err in this way to a frightful extent in England. Hence the mania for "getting on" at all cost, for doing something as they call it, not being somebody. Sir Humphrey Davy, and Montesquieu before him, spoke of the climate of this country as the inevitable cause for restlessness: but that is no reason why we should deprecate repose, but rather the contrary. I do not complain, however, of this restlessness, but of the notion that all activity must move in certain grooves to be owned as successful and respectable. It all arises from the same theory, that self-development, or even the development of others, is not the end of life, but the getting or doing something which can be weighed,

measured, ticketed, and in some way proved to the world. Mostly, too, it must be success for one's self to please the world.

ELLESMERE. I agree with you in the main, at least as much as I ever agree with any moralizing man. You did not expect I should.

DUNSFORD. Well, we have all been very much of the same mind throughout the conversation. I think we must be right.

ELLESMERE. There are only four of us: it certainly is possible that we may all agree and be right. But I must leave you, for I have promised myself to mount that Broad Stone of Honor (Ehrenbreitstein) which is towering up behind us. How people contrive to get up these heights (which are hard enough to walk up at one's leisure) under a heavy fire, I don't know. I suppose though it is only under a heavy fire that such steep places are mounted with alacrity. Ah, mankind are strange creatures. Danger lightens toil; and the idea of being the attacking party carries men over the loftiest impediments, and is, indeed, as great a leveller as Death itself.

And now having made an aphorism such as Milverton delights in, I will walk up the hill with it as a companion, for I shall get no other. I see, you all shrink from the enterprise.

CHAPTER V.

My readers may readily imagine, that coming to Germany at this revolutionary period, Milverton, Ellesmere, and myself had many discussions upon the events that were passing around us. I shall not trouble the reader with conversations, much of which was necessarily of fleeting interest; but I shall give an outline of our general opinions, which I cannot introduce better than by the following anecdote which I once heard Milverton tell. Being in a committee upon some business, in regard to which a particular danger was foreseen and great pains taken to obviate it, on the breaking up of the committee one day, a shrewd old man, versed in the affairs of the world, as he put his arm into Milverton's to walk away, quietly observed to him, "This danger that all of us foresee so clearly will not happen. Nothing does that we foresee."

So as regards this general state of revolution amongst the European powers, I am very doubtful whether the evils that are now so clearly seen

to be impending from it will ever come to pass; and it will probably take some turn which we none of us foresee, but which future historians will write about just as if many of us had had the exact result always in our thoughts. Milverton and Ellesmere are very much disgusted and not a little disheartened with the present state of affairs. It is natural they should be so. They have a particular dislike to the class of men who have risen into power in the course of these revolutions. Milverton comments with quiet disdain upon the wordy rulers of the day, and their issuing edicts upon the settlement of all human affairs, public and private, with a rapidity and want of thought, which, as he says, would be shameful if applied to the regulations of a kennel of hounds; but feeling assured of the transitory nature of such men's power, he merely thanks God that they must soon pass away, and does not trouble himself much more about them. Ellesmere, with the fierce contempt belonging to him, vows that these men of glittering words, false axioms, inappropriate antitheses, and general inflation of mind, are among the worst specimens of human beings that have ever come upon the earth; and that he is sure if I were to look into the Revelations I should find them under the head of some great beast. Now though I have not seen so much of the world as these young men, I have lived through

a great many more events than they have, and am therefore much more cautious in coming to any conclusion on the present aspect of affairs than they are, and, I think, am inclined to look upon it with less despondency than they do.

As a minor instance, by the way, of our difficulty of foreseeing any thing, I may mention the cause of our next journey, which I am sure will be as unexpected by my readers as it was by myself. We had intended to stay some little time at Coblenz, but we left it on account of a reminiscence of tender sentiment and affection on the part of Ellesmere.

I had noticed for a day or two that he was extremely grave and silent, and this was the more remarkable in him, as he is one of those men of a dry kind of demeanor which never varies much. I mentioned this to Milverton, who had also observed it, and had moreover discerned the cause. Some two or three years ago a little boy who lived with Ellesmere, and who, as Milverton says, was the only creature he ever loved, died suddenly. It was his sister's son, (a sister who lived in India.) Milverton said that Ellesmere doted on the boy, and had spoken of him more than once in these words, "He was all that I had ever wished to be;" which Milverton said was probably the case, as the child had the bold frank ways of Ellesmere, with a tenderness quite unknown in his charac-

ter—often visible in those who are to die young.

It unfortunately happened that there was a little boy about the inn where we were staying who was very like the boy that Ellesmere had lost. Milverton perceived it at once, and had hoped that Ellesmere would not do so. He was mistaken, however, for Ellesmere was always looking at the child, seeking opportunities to talk to it, and though he said not a word about the matter, was evidently full of sad recollections.

I therefore expressed great desire to go on to Trèves, which my friends assented to, and we set off immediately, taking the route by land through Polch and Kaisersesch, intending to return by the Moselle. Trèves, as is well known, contains the most remarkable monuments of Roman antiquity of any town in the north of Europe. It was this which gave it especial interest in our eyes.

We arrived in the evening, and had the good fortune to see, by moonlight as we entered, that stupendous relic of an unknown age, the "Porta Nigra."

Next morning we began our survey of the town, intending to find out the amphitheatre and to have our last reading there. We made our way first to Constantine's palace, at least to what remains of it, which did not lessen our

respect for the massive grandeur of Roman antiquities impressed upon us the preceding evening. From thence we went to the Roman baths, and it was pleasant to think that there were some remains of that great people which might be looked upon without any drawback of pity or sorrow, genuine monuments of civilization.

Then walking onwards for about half a mile, after mounting some vine-covered hills, we came suddenly upon an excavated space of an oval shape, which we knew at once to be the amphitheatre we had been looking for. After pausing a minute or two, we descended by a gentle declivity into the excavation. It was with somewhat of a cold shudder that I entered, and I noticed that Lucy turned very pale. All round the basement of the amphitheatre was a little trench about two feet in depth, into which torrents of blood must have flowed. We traced out what we supposed to have been the dens of wild beasts, the vomitories, the emperor's private entrance communicating by a long gallery with the palace, the tiers of benches for the spectators, and the steps down which the gladiators must have descended to enter the arena. It was all covered now with grass: a solitary lizard was the only live thing we saw while we were there.

As Milverton was descending the steps by

which the gladiators must have entered, he exclaimed, "Good God, with what feelings men must have walked down these steps, some of them perhaps thinking, as I do now, that some signal divine interposition might almost be expected to put an end to such enormities!"

ELLESMERE. I see the Christian Constantine had what he called Frankish games here (*Ludi Francici*) in which one thousand human beings at a time have been exposed to wild beasts.

MILVERTON. Surely these are the most colossal undertakings of wickedness that have ever been. Is there any protest, Dunsford, in any Roman author against these things? I do not mean such a protest as we, softened and refined by Christianity, should make, but any thing which should lead you to think that anybody then had the ideas which we now suppose to belong to natural religion and common humanity.

DUNSFORD. Nothing of the kind occurs to me.

MILVERTON. In contemplating these past horrors I think of their irrevocability. That which Horace says of past joy occurs to me of past sorrow; it is as if nothing would wash it out.

"Cras vel atrâ
Nube polum Pater occupato,
Vel sole puro: non tamen irvitum,
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet; neque
Diffinget, infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit."

Or, as Dryden says, excelling the original, I think, in expression,

“Be fair, or foul, or rain, or shine,
The joys I have possessed, in spite of fate are mine,
Not Heaven itself upon the past has power;
But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour.”

ELLESMERE. You must have the self-same feeling then over most of the events in history.

MILVERTON. Yes: you see, as regards the present generation you contemplate their distresses as you do those of a hero of fiction, which may be abundantly made up for in the end; but I do not very well see what comfort you are to find in considering the fate of those Franks or Thracians or Dacians who marched down these steps to be torn to pieces by wild beasts.

ELLESMERE. Let us have the essay read. It cannot be more saddening than such talk as this, and there could not be a more fit place to read it in than here, where slavery reached its direct consummation.

When we had taken our seats near the spot where we conjectured the emperor must have sat, Milverton read to us the following section of his essay on slavery.

6. THAT SLAVERY CAN BE DONE AWAY.

Some way has been made in proving this proposition in the chapter on the needlessness of slavery: but more remains. If doing away

slavery were now an unheard-of thing, the first experiment might be somewhat fearful, like the first experiment in sailing. "There are many tremendous things," says the poet, "but nothing so tremendous as man, who goes beyond the white sea with the wintry south wind, traversing the waves howling around him." Men have got over these terrors; and the sea, could it retain a keel-mark, would by this time be a beaten highway. The world, too, has grown old in the work of emancipation. There were the Greeks, having varieties of slavery amongst them, with captives taken by the spear, and men bought with gold; with a merciful domestic slavery, rarely changed for freedom, as amongst the Athenians, and a fierce tyranny exercised over slaves chiefly bound to the soil, as amongst the Lacedæmonians. Where are the masters, where the slaves? Then came the Romans, with armies of slaves of all nations. These nations are the masters now. Then mediæval serfdom, apparently a very rigid system. The other emancipations may be traced to violent changes; but this serfdom gradually crumbled away.

Had a master, in any one of the above dynasties, been told that the slavery he saw was to vanish away, he would have sincerely thought that the world would come to an end then; that, indeed, there was no living without the exact system before him. Placing ourselves in

the position of such a master, or of a modern slave-owner, we may see how he will honestly believe it absurd and hopeless to change the present state of things. What is to become, he exclaims, of the slaves, what of the masters, what of society? And, indeed, there is an impossibility about every great undertaking until it is done—or rather, until it is begun.

The modern slave-owners will say that none of these ancient cases apply, as the numerical difference between the dominant race and the slaves was never so great as it is now. But there are the British West India islands. As far as the question of population goes, emancipation would seem to have been a more difficult matter in these islands than it would be, for instance, in the American States. The population in Jamaica is short of 400,000, “of which more than 300,000 are negroes, about 30,000 whites, and perhaps 50,000 of mixed race.”* Now, turning to the first American State I happen to think of, Virginia, the total population is 1,211,405; the slaves are 469,757, not near half; and the free people of color are 47,348.† Then take Georgia, the population is 516,823; the slaves are 217,531, again not half; and the free people of color are 2,486.‡ As far then as the

* See *America and the West Indies*, by *Professor Long*, *G. R. Porter*, *G. Tucker*, *W. Wittich*, etc., p. 58.

† *Ibid.*, p. 286.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

relative numbers of slaves and free men are concerned, there appears to be no peculiar difficulty in emancipation in these States. If we extend this argument to the whole continent of America, it holds good. "The numbers are supposed to be nearly as follows:—"

Europeans and descendants of

Europeans	26,000,000
Aborigines	9,000,000
Negroes	6,000,000
Mixed races	7,000,000

But, again, the advocate for the continuance of American Slavery may say, the cases are not parallel, the British West India islands are colonies, far-off colonies; our slave States are integral parts of the empire. This fact tells both ways: it might fairly be argued that the British could venture less to diminish any restraint in dealing with a colony, than with a part of their home-dominions. If the same advocate should say that the American people, the white people I mean, are less ripe for negro emancipation than the English were, that they have prejudices about colors which the English are free from, that may be readily granted. It may also be at once admitted, in comparing modern with ancient slavery, that emancipation

* Ibid., p. 9.

is much more difficult when the races are very different in appearance. And if the same advocate proceed to say that emancipation came on softly in old times, because it was not planned, but proceeded insensibly with the progress of other events,—that, too, must in great measure be conceded. I suspect, however, that the greatest difficulty which his clients could allege, is one against the evil effects of which it is most in their power to provide, namely, the much larger proportion of slave-owners to the rest of the white men in their country than in England, or in ancient States, and in the much greater political power of these slave-owners.

On the other hand, there are some advantages which the cause of emancipation will have in America. If we have committed any error in the mode of emancipation, they will be able to profit by it. Their land-owners are resident: their land is more occupied than the British West Indies were at the time of Emancipation: their command of labor is likely to be greater than ours has been.

I do not, however, say, that emancipation is not attended with some peculiar difficulties in modern times, and that America has not her share of them. Indeed, the present state of the American people affords a great instance of the doctrine of compensation. With abundant physical resources, enjoying the results of the pas-

labor and present leisure of a more advanced nation, it might seem that they had nothing to work out for themselves. Yet in this matter of slavery, there remains, I think, a greater work to be done by them than the English have ever had occasion to attempt. I am not depreciating the labors of our own people. Their conduct as regards slavery is one of the best things that history has to tell of them: nor is their ardor, I trust, in any way deadened. Smollett says of one of his heroes, that "if the eternal salvation of mankind could have been bought by one tenth of his possessions, he would have left the whole species in a state of reprobation, not willing to pay that price for them unless he could see in the bargain some especial advantage to his own concerns." But in contrast to this amiable character, there are, I do believe, numbers of persons in England, who, if convinced that any sacrifice of worldly goods would insure the abolition of slavery in any small province, would throw down all their possessions for this end and commence their struggle in the world again. And, as a nation, we may fairly say that we have often devoted our arms, diplomacy, and finance to forward a cause, the humanity of which is its only charm in our eyes. Our efforts may at times have been misdirected—at times, too, we may have been enthusiastic when we should have been earnest—folly and fanaticism

may have hung upon the wheels of this national effort—as on what great cause have they not? Still the popular feeling on this subject in England has been so deep and sincere that even the worldly statesman has been obliged to incline to it, and the philanthropist, of whatever nation, cannot but have approved of it. But, as I have said before, our proceedings in the matter are but light compared to what the Americans will have to undertake—which, indeed, they have begun to undertake. There has been nothing to obstruct the full action of our pity. We have had no antipathies to conquer: with us the question was not one of terror and civil discord. We do not live with colored people; and have not been brought up from infancy to believe them an inferior race. Our feeling for the African race is like that which we have for the sorrows and struggles of some great man or people we read of in history. Had we lived with them, we, too, might have wronged them like the rest. We are far enough off now to think lovingly and wisely in this matter. Many of the white Americans are not. And as their task is greater, so may be their triumph. The cause requires from them as from us prudent zeal, resolute watchfulness, and masterly conduct: moreover, it must have from them, what happily it needed not from us, a conquest over a much-cherished

pride and the reversal of an early and deeply-ingrained prejudice.

Abolition of slavery was a hard thing with us, and will be harder with the Americans; but to throw one's self lazily back and say the thing is impossible, is as weak as it is untrue. Impossibilities recede as experience advances; and men walk quietly over many well-tilled fields, which, in the childhood of their thought, were deserts or morasses, peopled with fabulous animals—the ends of the earth.

The above arguments have been mainly addressed to America, where emancipation will be most difficult. Nobody doubts that France, with a slave population in her colonies—under 300,000, can emancipate them without much difficulty; indeed, she is steadily advancing in that direction.* In Brazil, the free population is nearly equal to the slave; and in Cuba the slaves are calculated at one third of the whole population. Moreover, in the dominant races of the latter countries, there is a more kindly feeling, I imagine, towards men of a dark shade of skin than there is amongst the Anglo-Saxons of North America; which feeling must give additional facility for emancipation.

* Since the above was written, France has abolished slavery in her dominions.

As regards the negroes themselves the possibility of their emancipation, that is, the possibility of its happening without any harm whatever to them, has been amply considered when discussing the question of their race and nature. They will work upon the motives that make other men work. The laws of supply and demand, or any other apparatus of political economy, will be found to act upon black as upon white nature. Nay, even the finer humors by which we are touched will restrain or stimulate their exertion. There is an instance so curiously illustrating this, that though it is merely an individual instance, it deserves to be quoted. Two or three years ago the manager of a certain plantation in Martinique, suspecting that some of the cattle on the estate had been poisoned by the slaves, abridged them all of the usual time allowed for their private work, and even took away some of the hours commonly allotted for rest and sleep. New year's day came, a holiday always impatiently expected by the negro, but on this occasion, the negroes on this estate resolved to work the whole day; they felt themselves aggrieved by the treatment they had for some time received, and they would have no holiday: not even threats availed to drive them away; they worked till night and returned the next morning as usual to their work, without

any words about it.* Now, put the feeling of these negroes as low as it can be, say it is mere humor, the men who can work throughout their festal day for such humors, will work to feed their wives and children.

The impossibility of doing away with slavery is an impossibility for those alone who choose to make it so.

It is not necessary to my purpose to show how slavery might be done away ; but I may mention that if it were, I should certainly not pretend to put forward any simple definite plan which should claim the nature of a specific.

Men delight in neat systems, and in reducing all human affairs into groups of facts, which may be dealt with according to certain fixed rules. This is at all times rather pedantic ; but in dealing with dead things, such as history for instance, it is perhaps excusable, and it is possible, because you have the facts before you,

* A midi, le commandeur est venu rendre compte au gèreur que les nègres travaillaient toujours, et ne voulaient pas rentrer dans leurs cases, pour y prendre un peu de repos ; le gèreur s'est transporté sur les lieux, leur a intimé l'ordre, à deux reprises différentes, de se retirer ; ils s'y sont formellement refusés, il les a menacés d'employer la force, (la gendarmerie.) ils ont tous répondu : "envoyez-la chercher." et sans se déranger, ils ont continué à travailler jusqu'à la nuit ; à la nuit, ils sont rentrés comme à l'habitude, et ce matin ils sont retournés aux champs sans mot dire.

if not complete, at least no longer alterable. Moreover, a great many of the irreducible facts have dropped out, and those that remain adverse to your system may be omitted.

But I suspect that if a moral remedy can be put into a system, it is small: it is then a thing which can be contained, not which forms. Moreover, such a large affair as slavery, having its roots in all parts of the earth and in the mind of man, is very different from a set of historical phenomena which can be arranged and systematized to any extent.

Throughout these essays I have chiefly sought to influence opinion on the general subject of slavery, considering that such opinion must rule the ultimate issues of the matter. The crisis will come perhaps in a way that no one can foresee. You cannot manufacture crises; but you can prepare for them. As regards slavery, who can venture to foretell which way it will go? But I am persuaded there are certain considerations, which, if translated into practical life, will render the way, whatever it is, easier; and whether slavery is to continue, whether it is to end by political convulsion, by foreign wars, or as I hope by gradual abolition, (the masters concurring,) it is certainly a good thing that white men and dark men should have less and less disregard for each other: and therefore it is highly desirable that questions concerning the

two races should be carefully considered, if thereby baseless prejudices may be removed.

If we look back at history, how was the slavery we are contending against first opposed? Who was its great opponent? The Church. Such men as Antonio Montesino, Las Casas, Vieyra, found in their religious opinions something which would not let them be at peace with the existing system of slavery. Sincere opinion must grow into action.

I do not mean to say that there are not many rules, suggestions, and plans which might be offered with regard to the abolition of slavery; but merely that it is not wise to look to any one quarter for a remedy, or to suppose that there is any one remedy which will suit so multifarious an evil.

Some of those, however, who are immediately connected with slavery, may desire precise instructions as to what they are to attempt. It appears to me that if a person who had much considered any great subject, like this of slavery, were addressed by others who should say to him, We agree with you: this is an evil; and we are ready to assist in removing it. Can you tell us what we are to do? He would reply by saying, Who are you? Tell me what function you at present have in connection with this matter, and I may then hazard an opinion as to what you might do; at any rate, I can tell you

what I would do if I were in your place: but be sure that there is a great deal which you will find out better how to do in dealing with the details, which are your own, than I or any one not in the same position as you can suggest. Duty can seldom be made easy—even to discover. There is no little bottle of oil, which, poured upon the sea of human affairs, will still the waves immediately; and the man who tells you he has such a thing, is to be avoided as a vender of quack medicines. Moreover, you must not expect more from books than they can give you. Wise conduct in any matter is not like what we used to call at college, "book work," but it is a difficult problem, which book knowledge, however, may greatly assist you in working out.

Having now declared that I have no specific remedy for slavery, and moreover intimated that I do not believe in the existence of any such thing, I may add, that if I had to address some of the parties in whose hands the question of dealing with slavery lies, I should speak to them in the following manner.

In addressing a British minister, I should say, I have not come to any conclusion about the policy of continuing our cruisers on the coast of Africa; I am not prepared to pronounce an opinion on that difficult subject; but I am quite certain that much good might be done by

means of diplomacy with the States who are now the most concerned in slavery. I should remind him of Burke's opinion, who said, "He was convinced the true origin of the Slave-Trade was not in the place it began at, but in the place of final destination." I should tell him that by means of diplomacy he might further one of the most feasible schemes for diminishing the force of slavery ; namely, by persuading the Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian governments, to insist upon such a registration of slaves as would show whence they came from, and tend to prevent any addition being made to the number of slaves by means of the Slave-Trade. The plan of calling upon the master to prove the legitimate slavery of his slaves has been suggested in modern times by one of ourselves,* and insisted upon by the Spanish government three hundred years ago, when laudably endeavoring to legislate with humanity for the Indians. As statesmen and men of business are fond of accuracy, it will be advisable to give the very words. "And with regard to the slaves made in war, if the possessor should not prove that the Indian, whom he has, as a slave, was taken in just war, and that the orders and forms appointed by the king have been kept and ful-

* See Mr. *Turnbull's* "*Cuba*," c. 17, which well deserves the attention of all persons who care about the subject.

filled, he shall be pronounced free, although nothing can be proved by the Indian himself, so that the proof shall lie upon the owner and not upon the Indian, (*de tal manera que la probanza se cargasse al posseedor, y no al Indio,*) and although he shall have been branded with the iron, and the owner shall have bills of sale or other documents of title." * The introduction of such a principle as that contained in the foregoing ordinance, would no doubt be most serviceable in mitigating and restraining slavery.

To the Portuguese government our minister might address himself, not as if he were suggesting to them for the first time reasons of humanity and policy for putting down slavery, but only as improving upon and furthering the means which have already been submitted to the Queen of Portugal by her own government. †

* *Herrera*, Hist. de las Indias, dec. 8, lib. 5, cap. 5.

† "The glory of continuing the great undertaking commenced by King John the Second, was reserved for your Majesty. The civilization of Africa, of which so many powerful nations have despaired, is more feasible to the Queen of Portugal, who holds in her hands the key of the principal gates at which it can enter, and whose authority is obeyed in various parts of that vast continent, at distances of more than two hundred leagues from the sea; and as it was possible for the former sovereigns of Portugal to open roads for civilization, a step which no other prince had ventured upon, so it will be possible to make that beneficial plant thrive and flourish in those regions.

"As an indispensable preliminary to any measures which,

With the Brazilians our minister might make the carrying of this project of registration a matter of distinct treaty; and, amongst the arguments with which he might ply that government, he might suggest to them that they would do wisely to make their polity with regard to slaves different from that of the Southern States of North America, so that servile insurrection, if it ever takes place in those States, may not spread to them; and that their security with regard to their own slaves may make them more able to repel any attack.

If I had now to address an American planter, perhaps a more important person in the matter than any British minister, and he were to tell me that he sincerely desired to remedy the present evils of slavery, I should say to him that he might begin by improving the condition of his own slaves. Let him fix shorter times of labor for them; and provide them with good medical advice, good habitations, and sufficient diet. Let him give his negroes something to dispose of in their extra time, buying their services at

for this great purpose your Majesty, in accordance with the General Cortes, may take, your Secretaries of State have the honor to propose the following project of a decree for the entire and complete abolition of the slave-trade in your dominions."

Foreign office, (Signed by all the Ministers.)
December 10th, 1836.

See *Portuguese Possessions in S. W. Africa*, vol. i., p. 22 of Introduction.

“hurrying time” by piece-work. Let him keep accounts to show that humanity answers economically. Let him introduce free labor wherever he can. If the reading and writing part of the education of negroes is jealously forbidden, at least let him have them instructed in some manual arts. Whenever you make them do any thing that free men do, even if it be but to play at games, you tend to make them more civilized beings and to break through the prejudice of skin. If the planter has a seat in the Assembly of his State, he may surely introduce measures for the personal protection of the negro, who seems at present to be worse off in this respect than the Roman slave was. This planter will have great weight if his estate is known to thrive, his negroes rarely to run away, to live longer, and to work more effectively than those of his neighbors. Gradually he might attempt bolder things. He will probably find more support than he has anticipated. In every system of things, hard and solid as it seems, there are secret doubters and dissentients. In the most Papal times, here and there were people who thought for themselves in Church matters; so in slave States, there may be several persons, who, if they heard doctrines about the treatment of their slaves contrary to the received practice, (those doctrines being propounded by one of themselves,) might give them a favorable

hearing. He might venture to argue in the Assembly in favor of education for the negroes; and if so, might ask his brother planters what they get now by not allowing education. Possibly as a temporary means of police it is not unwise. Still, for the future, what is it? The highest it aims at is the *status quo*. But is there not danger in the exact equality of knowledge and condition amongst a servile population? What any one wishing well to America would desire, would be to raise up a class in the slave States between the master and the slave. Therefore for that end it is not desirable to scout free blacks from a slave State, or to check education amongst slaves.

It is hardly for me to suggest what further efforts in behalf of negro emancipation the individual planter might make in the Assembly to which I suppose him to belong; but in all that he does I would have him turn his thoughts from "the ignorant present," and consider what are likely to be the changes in condition of the population whose welfare he is anxious for. That some change is necessary he has already agreed with me in thinking.

The present slavery in the Southern States of America might end in some such state of things as that in India, where the great bulk of the people have an interest in the soil, but are bound to pay rent, and are governed by officers

of the dominant race scattered here and there. True it is, that in the case of India, the government is the landlord, but there being an identity of interest amongst the individual landlords in the slave States of America, makes the general body resemble a government. The objection to this scheme is the want of capital for the laborers. Still there are not wanting analogous cases where a similar difficulty has been met, as may be seen in works on the nature of rent.

I confess myself I have no expectation of the above being the course things will take; but should rather look forward (if it is to be a peaceable transition) to that happening which has happened before in many States, namely, a gradual development of classes with different occupations, purposes, and powers, springing from the great and at present unformed masses of the people. In this way lies the greatest chance to secure freedom and civilization; and if the planter I am speaking to is aware of this, he will be constantly aiming at producing differences of position and education in those under him, in order to provide the means of future security and improvement.

It is with such a view as this that I should ask him to come closer to me, that I might say in a whisper (as it might scandalize him less than if I were to say it aloud) that if I were he, I would seek to ally myself with those who had

in their veins some of the blood of the race which forms so large a part of the inhabitants of the country. All wise conquerors (Romans, Normans, Spaniards) have done what they could to produce ties, not to shun them, with the subject race. I know well the objections that would be taken in the particular case here considered; but surely in those instances where such objections do not hold good, where the individual of what is called the inferior race is manifestly not an inferior individual, and where the obstacle to intermarriage would be only one of race; then the great rule, that the dominant race would be wise in allying themselves with the subject race, applies and should prevail.

Lastly, I should beg him to keep a well-balanced mind between hoping too much from his individual efforts, and on the other hand being too easily dejected by the failure or incomplete attainment of his wishes. Let him say to himself, as I do now, It may not be given to any one man to do much in a great matter like this of slavery; but doing some little of what he can, he may feel thankful that the final issues of it are in the hands of a Power with whom "a thousand years are but as yesterday," and who has never denied the name of "His children" to any portion of the human race.

After Milverton had ceased reading, we were

silent for a time. Knowing that he had been long employed upon this subject of slavery, and having myself been often consulted by him upon various points connected with it, I felt as though we were both losing an old friend in coming to the conclusion of this series of essays. I breathed a silent prayer for the success of any good thought or suggestion there might be in the work. At length Ellesmere broke the silence.

ELLESMERE. You are quite right, Milverton, in not pretending to give a specific remedy for slavery: indeed, it is so sensible in you not to have attempted any thing of the sort, that I am quite sure you must have borrowed the idea from me, (I dare say unconsciously;) and if every philanthropical writer of books had a shrewd worldly man at his elbow, and listened to him occasionally, a great deal of human misery would be prevented. Be thankful that you are furnished with such a useful commodity.

LUCY. I am sure we must all be very thankful to Mr. Ellesmere, considering the follies he preserves us from: he does not suffer us to be long in his debt, though, without reminding us how much we are indebted to him.

DUNSFORD. I hope we shall have some more essays from you this next summer, Milverton.

MILVERTON. I hope not. But I shall be delighted to assist in listening to any thing which you, or Ellesmere, may want an audience for.

ELLESMERE. You are very kind; but don't expect

any essays or discourses from me. Authorship is the last trade I should think of taking up. If nothing else remained for me, I should adopt in preference a calling which has many charms and few responsibilities. I should hire myself out as one of those men who carry advertising boards, like tabards, behind and before them; and whose only duty it is to perambulate crowded thoroughfares in long line. This would be very superior to making a living by literature. I should not even wish to be the first man of these tabard-bearers, because he has to exercise his mind a good deal in making choice of the road to go. An objection occurs to me, for there is no form of human life perfectly felicitous; and that is, that I could not, in duty to my employer, lean otherwise than sideways, when I wished to rest, in order that both tabards might still be seen. This, however, is but a trifle. If any ideas came into my head during the long walk of the day, I could put them down in the evening and publish them, if I liked, but I should not expect to live or thrive by so doing.

MILVERTON. Your jesting, Ellesmere, has a good deal of truth in it. I suspect there is an utter fallacy in the notion that literature is better provided for, now that it has what is called the Public for a patron, than in former times, when it depended more upon individuals. The public like occasionally to hear an amusing story, and will pay for such a thing, though not exorbitantly even for it, considering what a good thing a good story is and how difficult it is to make one: but, for the most part, how utterly incompetent they are, and ever must be, to appreciate laborious research or

earnest thought of any kind! I have often thought, dividing my subject after a fashion known in the House of Commons, that there are three sources of literature. Some books are written, not because the authors want to write, but because they have something on their minds to say and must say it: these books are few; and, as a general rule, neither rewards nor punishments have much influence upon their authors. Then there is a class of works which we may call spontaneous: written by genial men who see things clearly and can tell them. Reward has a great effect upon such writings; the public clamor for them; the wheels of the press do not rest; the substance is worked with less and less care and the materials become scanty; mannerism is put on, and that which was "meant for mankind" is given up to present partisans. Here the public is, if not too kind, at least too indiscriminate in its kindness; and it were to be wished that in some mysterious manner the coin of different people should differ in value according to the sense of the people—that the silver of the judicious reader should turn into gold, that of the foolish into copper. Even then I am afraid pecuniary criticism would be very incomplete, as the copper judgments of the many would still amount to so much more than the golden opinions of the few, that their presence or absence would not be of much importance.

ELLESMERE. A good idea, though! It would be one way of constructing a Utopia, that money should somehow or other take its value from the hand that paid it. Now, Milverton, for the third class.

MILVERTON. Oh, those are the slighter works of

all kinds which are not written imperatively, or spontaneously, but as matters of business, or at any rate from humbler motives than the others. These are to be much influenced by reward. But who is to reward them judiciously? The difference between executing these works (which are very important in the education of mankind) in a first-rate manner and in a careless manner is very great. To do even a slight thing well requires much time, attention, and honesty: and to find out that it is done well, or ill, requires patience, fairness, and some knowledge. Hence the honest writers of these works often find the careless public a very unkind master: and in short the sum and substance of all that I have to say upon the subject is, that literature does not hold out any safe reward; and if I were advising a person whose heart was set upon such things as reward, I should perhaps agree with Ellesmere in recommending a tabard-bearer's life, as likely to be more advantageous than a literary one. I myself should prefer sweeping a crossing; but this is a mere matter of taste. I need hardly tell you that my being more willing to be a listener than a preacher in the course of next summer, is not exactly founded upon any of these grounds which Ellesmere has staked his inclination for literature upon.

ELLESMERE. No: I dare say not. Perhaps you would like to learn something yourself. I suppose men who are always writing books become very ignorant. Besides, you live for your friends so much more when you are not writing. If any thing occurs to you, come and tell me. I should think so much more of it, if it were not to go into a book.

LUCY. How very selfish you are, Mr. Ellesmere !

DUNSFORD. You need not be alarmed, Lucy ; there is but small chance of our friend here resting too much. There will always be something going on which he will be anxious to influence in some way or other, and he will take up his pen as the weapon he knows best how to use.

ELLESMERE. Then it is a hopeless case ; and it will be in vain for me to point out to him the disadvantages close-following on the use of that fatal weapon. You might as well attempt to stop Don Quixote when armed cap-à-pie, on horseback, and going out to fight injurious windmills, by claiming his attention to details about the poultry-yard at home. I can understand, too, the pleasure of attempting to persuade or convince anybody about any thing. I feel that myself ; but then I am always paid for it.

MILVERTON. Ah, well, Ellesmere, there is one delight you cannot take away from literature—the sympathies it evokes and the friendships it creates. By its aid, across wide seas and from the very depths of time, men must stretch out their hands to one another, being brethren in soul. If to think the same of the Republic (*idem sentire de republica*) has always been considered a stern bond of fellowship, what must be that communion which arises from agreement on matters of deeper concern than politics, and still more perhaps from that harmony in the lighter touches of thought, expression, and feeling, which constitutes the very essence of personal friendship ! With men whom we have never seen we may thus have a dear and intimate communion ; and could these friends from afar

enter the room, though it might be in a strange garb and speaking a strange language, we should welcome them at once as old friends, and should already think we knew many of their most familiar ways.

ELLESMERE. Airy fancies! but unanswerable, I suppose, as there is not substance enough in them to be met by an answer. May they do you all much good.

I did not like to remind Ellesmere of any thing that could be painful to him, and therefore I did not say what was in my mind,—of how the resemblance of one child to another had brought back into his mind reminiscences and “airy fancies,” which yet had touched him deeply.

It was now time for us to go. We rose from the eminence where we had been sitting, and took a last long gaze at the scene before us. At my age and with my calling, I naturally look at any thing I see on a journey, as if it were for the last time I should see it. Milverton's recent state of health may have suggested the same thought to him. Lucy looked with the glad eager gaze of youth. At last we turned to go away. I heard Milverton say to himself, “It will pass away as this has done; and men will only see its decrepit monuments.” I knew what he was thinking of, and joined with him in wishing fervently that what he prophesied might come to pass.

As Ellesmere and myself were obliged to be back in England by a certain time, which was near at hand, and as Milverton was still unable to travel rapidly, we left him at Trèves, and resumed our journey homewards. He intrusted me with his manuscripts, which I have edited faithfully.

I find that the Essays and Conversations of this year are of greater length than the former ones: I hope, dear reader, you have not found them tiresome; and, even if you have, perhaps you will bear kindly with them, in consideration that you are not likely to be troubled in the same way for a long time again, if ever.

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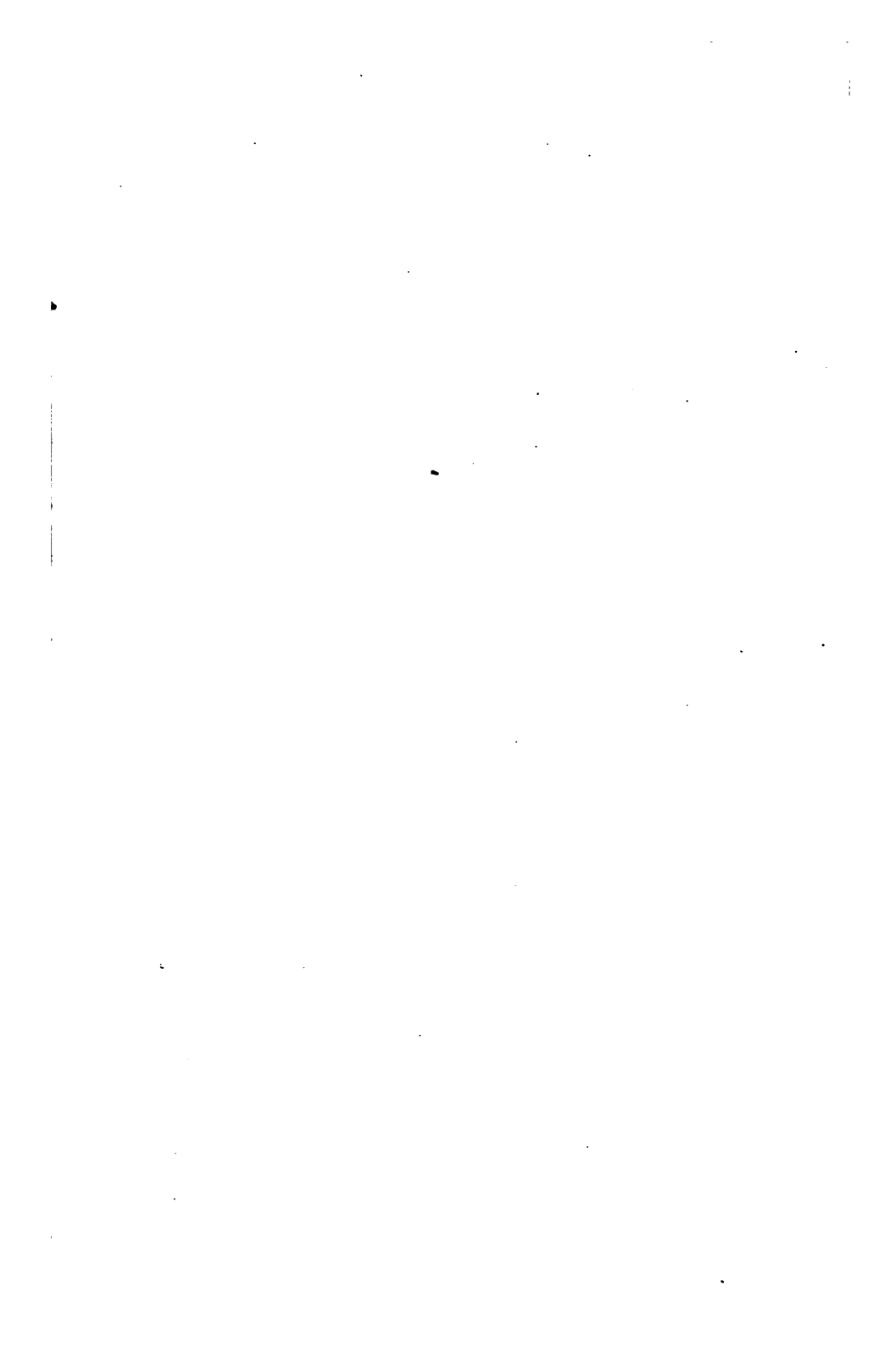
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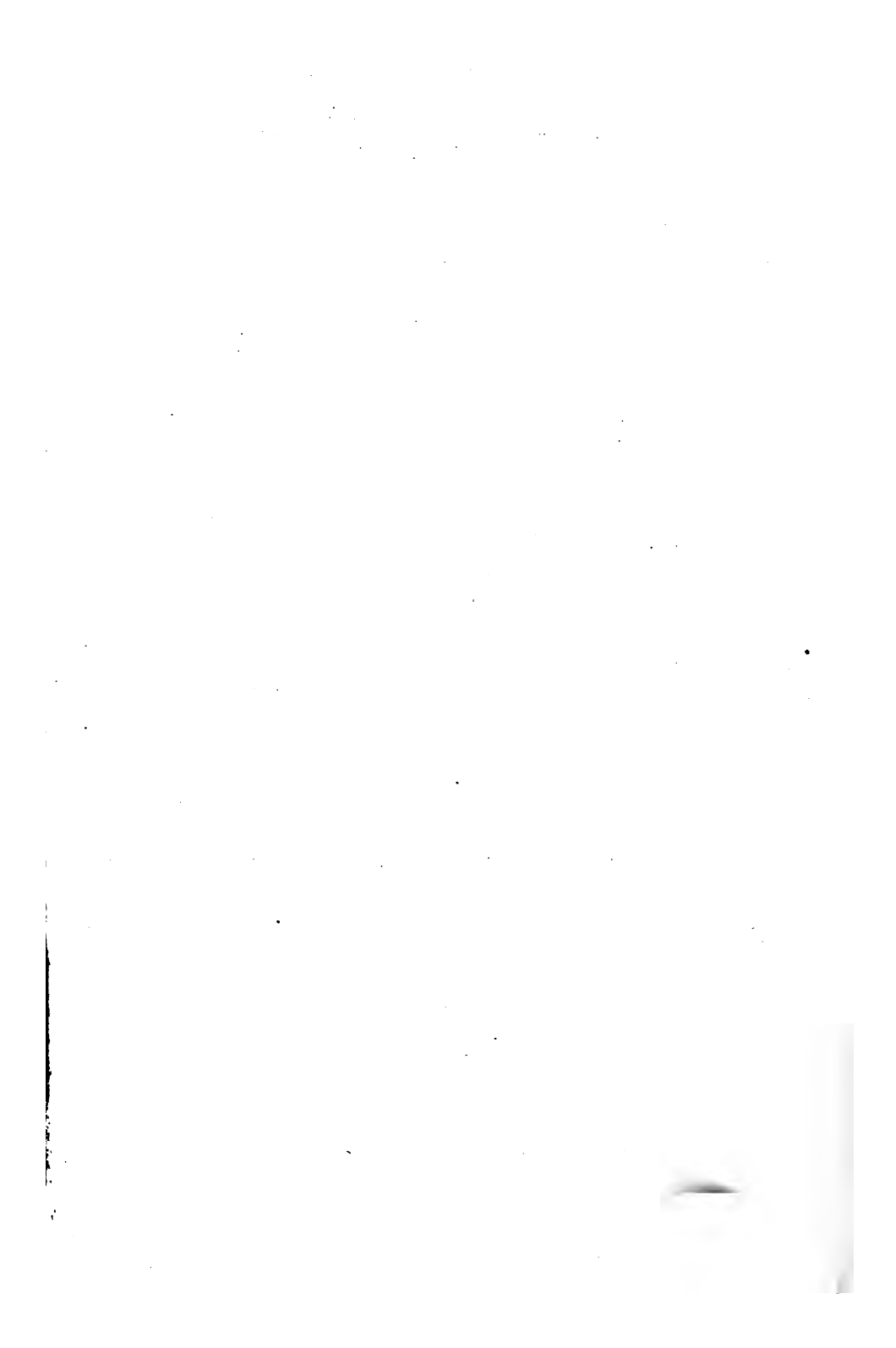
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